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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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The Spirit of the South.

A FREE VOICE FROM NORTH CAROLINA.

From The North Carolina Standard, Oct. 8.

PROF. HEDRICK OF THE UNIVERSITY.—As a matter of justice to Prof. Hedrick, we publish to-day what he styles his "Defence" against the charge of being a Black Republican. There is not a point made or presented in this "Defence" which could not be triumphantly met and exposed; but surely it cannot be expected of us, or of our correspondent, "An Alumnus," or of any citizen of this State, *to argue with a Black Republican.*

The Professor closes his "Defence" with the opinion that "those who prefer to denounce" him "should at least support their charges by their name." The author of "An Alumnus" is a gentleman of high character, and entirely responsible for whatever he has said, or may say. He is a resident of this place, and his name can be known, if at all necessary.

We adhere to our opinion, recently expressed in *The Standard*: "*The expression of Black Republican opinions in our midst is incompatible with our honour and safety as a people. That man is neither a fit nor a safe instructor of our young men who even inclines to Fremont and Black Republicanism.*"

This is a matter, however, for the Trustees of the University. We take it for granted that Prof. Hedrick will be promptly removed.

PROF. HEDRICK'S DEFENCE.

MESSRS. EDITORS: In the last *Standard*, I see a communication, signed "Alumnus." Although my name is not mentioned therein, still I suppose there is little doubt that it was all intended for me. Now, politics not being my trade, I feel some hesitation in appearing before the public, especially at a time like this, when there seems to be a greater desire on the part of those who give direction to public opinion to stir up strife and hatred than to cultivate feelings of respect and kindness. But, lest my silence might be misinterpreted, I will reply, as briefly as possible, to this, as it appears to me, uncalled-for attack on my politics.

Then, to make the matter short, I say I am in favour of the election of Fremont to the Presidency; and these are my reasons for my preference:

First: Because I like the man. He was born and educated at the South. He has lived at the North and the West, and therefore has had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with our whole people—an advantage not possessed by his competitors. He is known and honoured both at home and abroad. He has shown his love of his country by unwavering devotion to its interests. And whether teaching school for the support of his widowed mother, or exploring the wilds of the great West—whether enlarging the boundaries of science or acquiring for our country the "Golden State"; whether establishing a Constitution for this youngest daughter of the Union, or occupying a seat in the Senate of the Nation—in every position, and under all circumstances, whether demanding heroic daring or prudent counsel, he has always possessed the courage to undertake, and the wisdom to carry through. In reference to the value of his services in California, Mr. Buchanan says: "He bore a conspicuous part in the conquest of California, and in my opinion is better entitled to be called the conqueror of California than any other man." For such services and such ability, I love to do him honour. "Platforms" and principles are good enough in their places; but for the Presidential chair, the first requisite is *a man.*

Second: Because Fremont is on the right side of the great question which now disturbs the public peace. Opposition to slavery extension is neither a Northern nor a sectional *ism.* It originated with the great Southern statesmen of the Revolution. Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Madison and Randolph were all opposed to slavery in the abstract, and were all opposed to admitting it into new territory. One of the early acts of the patriots of the Revolution was to pass the Ordinance of '87, by which slavery was excluded from *all* the territories we then possessed. This was going farther than the Republicans of the present day claim. Many of these great men were slaveholders; but they did not let self-interest blind them to the evils of the system. Jefferson says that slavery exerts an evil influence both upon the whites and the blacks; but he was opposed to the abolition policy, by which the slaves would be turned loose among the whites. In his autobiography he says: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines between them." Among the evils which he says slavery brings upon the whites is to make them tyrannical and idle. "With the morals of the people their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour." What was true in Jefferson's time is true now. I might go on and give "Alumnus," every week from now till the election, a column of good "Black Republican" documents, all written by the most eminent Southern statesmen, beginning with Washington, and including nearly all of eminence for ability, virtue and patriotism, and coming down to our own times. No longer ago than 1850, Henry Clay declared, in the Senate, "I never can and never will vote, and no earthly power ever will make me vote, to spread slavery over territory where it does not exist." At the same time that Clay was opposed to slavery, he was, like Fremont, opposed to the least interference by the General Government with slavery in the States where it exists. Should there be any interference with subjects belonging to State policy, either by other States or by the Federal Government, no one will be more ready than myself to defend the "good old North," my native State. But, with Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Henry, Randolph, Clay and Webster for political teachers, I *cannot* believe that slavery is preferable to freedom, or that slavery extension is one of the constitutional rights of the South. If "Alumnus" thinks that Calhoun, or any other, was a wiser statesman or better Southerner than either Washington or Jefferson, he is welcome to his opinion. I shall not attempt to abridge his liberty in the least. But my own opinions I will have, whether he is willing to grant me that right of every freeman or not. I believe that I have had quite as good an opportunity as he has to form an opinion on the questions now to be settled. And when "Alumnus" talks of "driving me out" for sentiments once held by these great men, I cannot help thinking that he is becoming rather fanatical.

For the information of "Alumnus" I will state that he has put himself to unnecessary trouble in blazoning this matter before the public. The whole subject belongs exclusively to the jurisdiction of the Trustees of the University. They are men of integrity and influence, and have at heart the best interests of the University. There is no difficulty in bringing this or any other question relating to the Faculty or students before them. "Alumnus" has also made another mistake, in supposing that the Faculty take upon themselves to influence the political opinions of the students. The students come to college, generally, with their party politics already fixed; and it is exceedingly rare for them to change while here. It has, however, been often remarked that a very violent partisan at college is pretty sure to "turn over" before he has left college long. I have been connected with our University, as student and Professor, for six years, and am free to say that I know no institution, North or South, from which partisan politics and sectarian religion are so entirely excluded. And yet we are too often attacked by the bigots of both. For my own part, I do not know the politics of more than one in a hundred of the students, except as I might infer to which party they belonged from a knowledge of the politics of their fathers. And they would not have known my own predilections in the present contest had not one of their number asked me which of the candidates I preferred.

But, if "Alumnus" would understand the state of things here correctly, he had better make a visit to the University. He would find each member of the Faculty busy teaching in his own department, whether of science or literature, and that party politics is one of the branches which we leave the student to study at some other place and time. If "Alumnus" does conclude to visit us, there is another matter to which I might direct his attention. The two societies here, to the one or the other of which all the students belong, have each a very good library, and in those libraries are to be found the "complete works" of many of our great statesmen. Now, for fear that the minds of the students may be "poisoned" by reading some of these stanch old patriots, would it not be well for "Alumnus" to exert himself, through the Legislature or otherwise, to "drive" them out of the libraries? It is true the works of Calhoun are in the same case with those of Jefferson, but from appearances the Virginian seems to be read pretty often, while the South Carolinian maintains a posture of "masterly inactivity." When I was a student in college, a few years ago, the young politicians used to debate in the "Halls" of the Societies the same questions which the old politicians were debating in the Halls of Congress. The side which opposed slavery in the abstract generally had the books in their favour, and the records of the Societies will show they had quite often "the best of the argument." So that when Col. Fremont said that he was "opposed to slavery in the abstract, and upon principle, sustained and made habitual by long-settled convictions," he but uttered the sentiments of four-fifths of the best Southern patriots from the Revolution down to the present day; and I may add, of the majority of the people among whom I was born and educated. Of my neighbours, friends and kindred, nearly one-half have left the State since I was old enough to remember. Many is the time I have stood by the loaded emigrant wagon, and given the parting hand to those whose face I was never to look upon again. They were going to seek homes in the free West, knowing, as they did, that free and slave labour could not both exist and prosper in the same community. If any one thinks that I speak without knowledge, let him refer to the last census. He will there find that in 1850 there were fifty-eight thousand native North Carolinians living in the free States of the West—thirty-three thousand in Indiana alone. There were, at the same time, one hundred and eighty thousand Virginians living in the free States. Now, if these people were so much in love with the "institution," why did they not remain where they could enjoy its blessings?

It is not, however, my object to attack the institution of slavery. But even the most zealous defender of the patriarchal institution cannot shut his eyes against a few prominent facts. One is, that in nearly all the slave States there is a deficiency of labour. Since the abolition of the African slave trade there is no source for obtaining a supply, except from the natural increase. For this reason, among others, a gentleman of South Carolina, in an article published in *DeBow's Review* for August, 1856, advocates a dissolution of the Union in order that the African slave trade may be revived. From North Carolina and Virginia nearly the entire increase of the slave population, during the last twenty years, has been sent off to the new States of the South-West. In my boyhood I lived on one of the great thoroughfares of travel (near Lock's Bridge on the Yadkin River), and have seen as many as two thousand in a single day, going South, mostly in the hands of speculators. Now, the loss of these two thousand did the State a greater injury than would the shipping off of a million of dollars. I think I may ask any sensible man how we are to grow rich and prosper while "driving out" a million of dollars per day. I am glad, however, to say that the ruinous policy is not now carried on to such an extent as it has been. But there is still too much of it. I have very little doubt that if the slaves which are now scattered thinly over Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri were back in Virginia and North Carolina, it would be better for all concerned. These old States could then go on and develope the immense wealth which must remain locked up for many years to come. While the new States, free from a system which degrades white labour, would become a land of common schools, thrift and industry, equal, if not superior, to any in the Union. But letting that be as it may, still no one can deny that here in North Carolina we need more men rather than more land. Then why go to war to make more slave States, when we have too much territory already for the force we have to work it? Our fathers fought for freedom, and one of the tyrannical acts which they threw in the teeth of Great Britain was that she forced slavery upon the Colonies against their will. Now the secessionists are trying to dissolve the Union because they are not permitted to establish slavery in the Territory of Kansas. If the institution of slavery is a good thing and desirable in itself, it is the easiest thing in the world for the people to vote for its introduction at any time after they have formed a Constitution and been admitted as a State. If it is not a thing good and desirable, it would be an act of great oppression to force it upon them. For, however any one may lament the evils of slavery, it is almost impossible to get rid of the system when once introduced. Nullify it by law if you will, still the evil remains, perhaps aggravated. But in a new State a few words in the Constitution may prevent the entire evil from entering.

From my knowledge of the people of North Carolina, I believe that the majority of them who will go to Kansas during the next five years would prefer that it should be a free State. I am sure that if I were to go there, I should vote to exclude slavery. In doing so, I believe that I should advance the best interest of Kansas, and at the same time benefit North Carolina and Virginia, by preventing the carrying away of slaves who may be more profitably employed at home.

Born in the "good old North State," I cherish a love for her and her people that I bear to no other State or people. It will ever be my sincere wish to advance her interests. I love also the Union of the States, secured as it was by the blood and toil of *my* ancestors; and whatever influence I possess, though small it may be, shall be exerted for its preservation. I do not claim infallibility for my opinions. Wiser and better men have been mistaken. But holding as I do the doctrines once advocated by Washington and Jefferson, I think I should be met by argument and not by denunciation. At any rate, those who prefer to denounce me should at least support their charges by their own name.

Chapel Hill, Oct. 1, 1856. B. S. HEDRICK.

RESOLUTIONS OF CENSURE PASSED BY THE FACULTY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

From The Raleigh (N. C.) Standard.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
Chapel Hill, Monday, Oct. 6, 1856.

The Faculty met at 12 o'clock, M., under a summons from the President. Present—Hon. David L. Swain, President. Professors—E. Mitchell, J. Phillips, M. Fetter, F. M. Hubbard, J. T. Wheat, A. M. Shipp, C. Phillips, B. S. Hedrick, A. G. Brown. Instructor—H. Herries. Tutors—S. Pool, J. B. Lucas, R. H. Battle and W. H. Wetmore.

The President stated to the Faculty that he felt himself called upon to direct their attention to the publication of Professor Hedrick in the North Carolina *Standard* of Saturday. Very few remarks, he said, will suffice in relation to the present subject.

In an institution sustained like this, by all denominations and parties, nothing should be permitted to be done calculated to disturb the harmonious intercourse of those who support and those who direct and govern it; and this is well known to have been our policy and practice during a long series of years. Mr. Hedrick's testimony that "as a student and professor" he has known "no institution, North or South, from which partisan politics and sectarian religion are so carefully excluded" will be received with perfect credence by our graduates, and by all familiar with the state of things among us.

To secure an end so essential to the reputation, prosperity and usefulness of the university, cautious forbearance has been practised by the Faculty, and enjoined upon the students, in relation to these subjects. The sermons delivered on the Sabbath, in college chapel, have been confined to an exhibition of the leading doctrines of Christianity, with respect to which no difference of opinion exists among us; and no student, during the last twenty years, has been permitted to discuss upon the public stage any question of party politics. This course, upon the part of all, has been regarded as not merely necessary to internal harmony and quiet—in union with kind feeling and good taste—but as due to numbers of persons of different tenets and opinions, who honour us by their attendance upon our public exercises, and have a right to respectful consideration.

On motion of Dr. Mitchell, seconded by Prof. Fetter, the President's communication was referred to a Committee, consisting of Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Phillips and Prof. Hubbard, who reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the course pursued by Prof. Hedrick, as set forth in his publication in the North Carolina *Standard* of the 4th inst., is not warranted by our usages; and that the political opinions expressed are not those entertained by any other member of this body.

Resolved, That while we feel bound to declare our sentiments freely upon this occasion, we entertain none other than feelings of personal respect and kindness for the subject of them; and sincerely regret the indiscretion into which he seems, in this instance, to have fallen.

After a brief discussion, the resolutions were adopted by the following vote: Ayes—Messrs. Mitchell, Phillips, Fetter, Hubbard, Wheat, Shipp, C. Phillips, Brown, Pool, Lucas, Battle and Wetmore. Nay—Mr. Herrisse, who said that he voted in the negative, "simply on the ground that the Faculty is neither charged with Black Republicanism, nor likely to be suspected of it."

On motion of Dr. Wheat, seconded by Prof. Shipp, the Secretary was directed to transmit a copy of the foregoing proceedings of the Faculty to the trustees of the University.

THE TROUBLES OF THE SOUTH AT HOME.

From The Richmond Enquirer.

A FEW weeks ago we felt constrained to warn the people of the South against disguised Abolitionists living in our midst, propagating their incendiary doctrines, and all the while affecting to be very good Southern men. The well-meant warning was not received in a proper spirit in some quarters, and men who were liable to be suspected of faithlessness to the South, and to the institution of slavery, sneered at our article and protested that there was no danger, and that our fears were merely assumed for political effect. Indeed, it has become very fashionable of late with a certain class in this and other slaveholding States to call the jealous regard of Democratic editors for the rights of the South humbug and stuff, and as calculated to frighten old women and weaker men. It is easier to sneer than to frame a logical reply, and we are not surprised, therefore, when silly Free Soilers resort to this method of answering our arguments. But we insist, nevertheless, that the people of the South have need to be on their guard against Abolition emissaries, *many of whom are in our midst, and some of whom own slaves merely as a blind to shield them from suspicion.*

As evidencing the necessity of the caution we have urged, we cite a few examples of announcements contained in some of our exchanges which came to hand yesterday morning.

A day or two ago we gave an account of the expulsion from Alabama and Mississippi of several Northern incendiaries. Of two more of these persons, the Sumter (Ala.) *Democrat* says:

"We have just learned from a private source that two men by the name of Pierce, Yankee school-teachers in Clarke County, Mississippi, have been detected in attempting to incite the negroes in that section to insurrection, in the following bold and fearless manner. One of these *gentlemen* had identified himself with the community in which he lived, by purchasing a saw-mill, under which he had a room, so constructed as to enable him to hold his councils unperceived. It was discovered in a neighbouring swamp that they had also fitted up a rendezvous, with seats, &c., sufficient to accommodate three hundred persons, where, according to the testimony of the negroes, they (the negroes) had assemblies from ten miles square."

The Elba (Ala.) *Democrat* states that five or more of these pernicious scoundrels were recently expelled from that place for crimes similar to those above described.

Two pedlars were recently expelled from Cheraw, S. C., on the charge of tampering with negroes.

A few days ago, the citizens of Livingston, Sumner County, Ga., held a meeting to consider the case of a man named Samuel Sherwood, charged with being an Abolition incendiary. He was ordered to leave the State within three days. A suspected Abolitionist has also been arrested at Columbus, Mississippi, and placed in jail for trial.

Now, when, in connection with these extracts, it is remembered that within two weeks of the date of our former article, a precious scoundrel was driven from Lexington in this State, who will pretend to say that there was no need of our warning?

With these evidences of practical interference with slavery, we are told by semi-Abolitionists in this State that there is no danger that slavery in the States will be molested, and our intimations that this is possible are rated as humbug and charlatanry. The fact is we cannot hope for better things while men are tolerated in a Southern community who occupy the same position of hostility to the South which is maintained by every Black Republican at the North. Yet such there are stalking abroad in the community, who claim exemption from the punishment inflicted on incendiaries, because they happen to reside in Virginia. Such men are more to be hated and feared and deserve severer punishment than the vilest Abolitionist of the North. They are hypocritical pretenders, wolves in sheep's clothing, venomous vipers, who should be crushed without pity.

From the same, Oct. 7.

Shall we try Mr. Fremont's administration and thereby give his party full time to prepare our destruction? Shall we wait for overt acts when the work will be half done before they are ventured on? Shall we look for safety to the Senate, and incur the fate of the man who remains under his roof when an earthquake has prostrated all the pillars but one, and that is tottering to its base? Shall we acquiesce in Mr. Fremont's election because the forms of the Constitution are observed? They would be equally observed if the army were increased to a hundred thousand men and concentrated in the Southern States; if squadrons of war steamers were stationed in the Southern ports and at the mouths of Southern rivers; if the forts of the South were commanded by Northern men, and every possible preparation made to subjugate us; and yet we should hardly be advised to acquiesce in such things because they were constitutional.

The question is whether the possibility of a constitutional administration by Mr. Fremont should induce us to give his party the immense advantage that will accrue from actual possession of the government, if they determine to proceed with their assault on slavery. That possibility is so small as to be a feather in the balance when weighed against the dangers of submission. Make the estimate calmly, consult the past history and present temper of abolition, examine the character of its candidate, and it seems the consummation of folly to sacrifice the advantages of prompt action to the hope that action will be unnecessary.

If secession be delayed until overt acts of aggression are committed on the South, it must be attended with bloodshed, for overt aggression will not be attempted until preparation is made to use force. *If Mr. Fremont's election be accepted as a declaration of war, and the South secede immediately, in all human probability the war will proceed no farther than the declaration. By prompt secession we shall close the avenues of Federal corruption and save our people from influences to which no people, however virtuous, should be subjected.* Before those influences can be brought to bear, we shall be beyond their reach. By prompt secession we shall erect a government entitled to receive the allegiance of all our citizens, and to recall from the Federal service such of them as remain in it. At least one-half of the military officers of the present government are natives of the South, and will not carry arms against her. But we must never permit them to be commanded by John Charles Fremont. He must never possess the right to treat them as deserters; but on his accession to power he should find them already in the service of another government, equally legitimate with his own. Prompt secession will paralyze the military arm of the present government, by withdrawing from it many of its best officers. Delay will expose them to the perplexities of a decision between the orders of their legally qualified commander and the cause of their native States.

By prompt secession we check at once the flow into the present treasury of revenues derived from Southern commerce, and divert those revenues to a treasury which will be used to defend and not to destroy the South. We transfer executive patronage from a government which uses it to weaken and divide the South, to one which will use it to consolidate her power. We protect our citizens from corruption, and teach them that patriotism and fidelity to Southern interests are the only avenues to honour and emolument in the South.

By prompt secession we prepare for conflict, if one be inevitable, and meet it as a nation meets foreign war; by delay we invite attack and resist as rebels, unorganized, unprovided, without a treasury, without a military force, and relying wholly upon the undisciplined valour of our citizens. Even then we should triumph, but what disasters, what bloodshed shall we not avoid by preparation.

It will be said that we shall be worse off after secession than before; that now we have the Fugitive Slave law, and then we shall have none. We have now a Fugitive Slave law which brings back no slaves, and is a source of everlasting outrage on Southern citizens in pursuit of their property. *As a separate nation we shall have revenue cutters and custom-house officers to prevent smuggling, who will also be required to capture fugitives.* We shall have prevention instead of sham cure. Then, as now, fugitive slaves who reach the North will escape. But then measures will be taken to prevent their escape which now are impossible. Cut off from political connection with hostile powers, slavery will be under the protection of a government devoted to its preservation. No government but its own will have power within its limits, or have access to it for mischievous purposes. The everlasting din of the slavery controversy will be banished from the land, and we shall have time and opportunity to give our attention to other matters, and to develope our resources in peace.

Aggression will not come if it be forced to take the form of internecine war. It is one thing to denounce and maltreat citizens subject to a government controlled by the aggressors, and quite another thing to invade the territory of a sovereign power able and willing to defend herself. Abolition philanthropy is an exceedingly cheap virtue under the present government; it will not be quite so cheap if it be forced to raise armies and fight battles to achieve purposes which it flatters itself will be accomplished now by a liberal expenditure of breath.

But if aggression take that form, it will be infinitely less dangerous than under the insidious garb of laws and constitutions not observed. We shall at least know how to meet it. *We have more than a million of fighting men, well acquainted with the use of arms, accustomed to field sports, used to an active life in the open air, many of them trained to arms in the military colleges so numerous in the South,* and with all the vigour, hardihood and courage usual among an agricultural people. Our institutions have been tried by war and the presence of invading armies; the result was not insurrection and divided force, but a capacity to bring into the field a much larger proportion of our fighting men than it is practicable to spare from peaceful avocations in non-slaveholding States. It is sometimes said that the slave population is no longer so devoted to their masters as in the days when Dunmore proclaimed their freedom and invited them to the royal standard. Possibly in exposed districts they may not be. In the main, we have no reason to think them less devoted to the whites than formerly. Be this as it may, there is one counterbalancing circumstance that must not be forgotten. During the Revolution the white population outnumbered the blacks in the Southern States about 600,000; now they outnumber them nearly 3,000,000. The whites have gained on the blacks more than half a million of fighting men. War is the time of security against insurrection, for then the dominant race are armed, organized and on the alert.

We do not think the South need fear aggression in the shape of war; but if it come, she may defy any force that can be brought against her.

After every view of this great question that presents itself to our eye; after calmly weighing all its attendant circumstances, and with a most solemn sense of the importance of a right decision by the Southern people, we are forced to the conviction that the only safe and honourable course for them to pursue, *if Mr. Fremont be elected, is to withdraw immediately from the Union, and to establish a separate government for themselves.*

We have warned our Northern brethren from time to time, of attempts made by our common Government to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow those usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connection and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

THE TIME FOR SECESSION FIXED.

[Messrs. Boyce and Orr, members of Congress from South Carolina, have been addressing their constituents on the political issues of the present campaign. Mr. Boyce's speech was delivered to the citizens of Columbia, and contains the following expression of opinion and advice:]

"WILL Fremont be elected? I believe he will, I am sorry to say it. I should prefer peace to revolution, therefore I should prefer Mr. Buchanan; it would, however, only postpone the struggle. The question is between sections—North vs. South (when I speak of the North, I do not include the conservatives); the North hate us worse than the English hate the French. They are banded together against us. Not satisfied with Minnesota, Iowa, Oregon and Washington, they covet more; they wish to make Kansas free; they wish to get all. This is the party of which Fremont is champion.

* * * * * * *

"If Fremont is elected, what are we to do? Shall we submit? I cannot speak for you, but for myself I say, 'We must not' [applause]. These men have taunted us, and said we dared not secede. I trust in God that there will be resistance. If we are to be provinces, let us be so; but let us not aid it by our own act; let us not calmly submit to the degradation that the election of Fremont would put on us [applause]. But, when we do rebel against his election, the North will change front also.

"There are many there who do not believe in disunion. If they believe it would come to that, they would change—they love their own interest too much, and they know that would suffer. They love free soil, but not at the expense of their own pockets. If disunion were to come, they would cry out to their leaders, 'You have deceived us'—the South are in earnest; and in a short time they would be down on their knees begging, for the Almighty's sake, to get back into the Union. The North and South are as Napoleon said of two armies, each scared at the other. One that shows it first is whipped. Let us screw our courage up to the sticking point; and if we perish, let us meet our fate bravely. Do this, and they will yield. They will come in and say, make a Constitution just as you want it; put anything in it. We did wish to get rid of negroes, but we had no idea you were so determined to keep them; have it your own way.

"By this we will obtain peace for awhile, perhaps for twenty-five years; but the idea of this government being permanent is ridiculous. There is more than a political reason for this; it is one of philosophy. Our territory is too large; we might patch up the Union for awhile, but it will not last. Again, suppose the North should not propose a compromise, what then? Have we not the bright sky above our heads, and the firm earth beneath our feet? Can we not work for our own destiny upon our own soil, and, in sight of the graves of our fathers, defend our rights and maintain our independence?

"I have no doubt of the unanimous opinion of the South for resistance. I have conversed with the prominent men of Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and find the whole united; and why not? Are we traitors to ourselves? Have we become so degenerate? I think not; and if we were, I would say, *act* as if we were not. What period more favourable? No national party divides us—it is not as in all previous contests. At the time of Taylor's election we were divided—there were different parties; but now *we* are unanimous, and the North is divided—divided among themselves. The conservative men, the friends of the Constitution, are with us in feeling; they and the Republicans hate each other. One calls the other dirt-eaters, who kneel to the South, and the other gives them the titles of scoundrels, liars, &c.

"In a late conversation, in Washington, with a gentleman high in office, and a distinguished man, when I spoke of the prospects before us, he said, before there was a struggle between the North and the South, that the conservative men at the North would rise, and their bodies would have to be trampled on before they would yield to this miserable crew of Black Republicans. The election of Fremont, I say, must not be submitted to. The South generally may not say so, but I say, rather than submit my neck to the yoke which Sumner, Burlingame, Wilson, Seward, and others of that stamp would impose, I would be for secession—anything, even death [applause]."

[Colonel Orr addressed the citizens of Unionville in behalf of the election of Mr. Buchanan, simply as a means of postponing secession for four years more. His faith in that gentleman's success was small, as will be seen from the following passage:]

"He is entitled to the support of the South; but, with all their aid, the speaker feared he could not be elected. The probability is, Fremont will be chosen. Black Republicanism has recently triumphed in Maine, Vermont and Iowa; and an election will take place in Pennsylvania on Monday next. If that State goes against us, he was fearful of the result. The Democrats of the North, including such men as Douglas, Cass, Bright and others, are supporting Buchanan and fighting manfully.

"If Fremont should be elected, he believed the Union would be dissolved, and Col. Orr said he would be in favour of its dissolution. *If it occurs, it will take place between November and March next.* If Mr. Buchanan is elected, we will have peace four years, when an effort will again be made for Black Republicanism. The people of the South are now more united than ever; and if the contest must come, we will be prepared to meet the enemy undivided."

ANOTHER LETTER FROM GOV. WISE.

From The Upper Marlborough (Md.) Planter's Advocate.

RICHMOND, Va., Monday, Sept. 29, 1856.

SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge your invitation, on behalf the Committee, to attend the Grand Mass Meeting at Upper Marlborough, Md., on the 14th proximo. And nothing would give me more pleasure than to meet the people of the southern Counties of Maryland upon the terrible issues of their political canvass. We are looking with the deepest anxiety to your State. We ask her: Shall the executive power of the Federal Government be placed in the hands of a Black Republican, with an open, overt proclamation of war against our property, our peace, our social safety, and our prosperity as one people? If Maryland will not vote for Fremont, will she throw away her vote on Fillmore? She cannot throw it away. If she is not with us, she is against us; if she is not for peace, she is for war; if she would not preserve her border safe, she will leave it exposed to scenes far worse than the massacre of her Gorsuch; if she is not for slavery, she is for abolition; if she is not for the equality of the States, and the Union of the States, she is for yielding our Territories to the tyranny of excluding us and our property, and for exposing us to civil war and the horrors of a violent dissolution; if she votes for Fillmore, she will give more than half a vote for Fremont. Will she assist in dividing and distracting the weaker portion of the Union against itself? Let her remember that if Black Republicans may affect a sympathy with peaceful settlers on the public lands in Kansas against Border Ruffians, much more may Maryland and Virginia claim sympathy with peaceful owners of private property, lawfully held, all along a frontier of nine hundred miles, coterminous with free soil, against Black Republican Ruffians, who forbid and arrest the reign of the Constitution and the Laws, State and Federal, in the limits of both these border States.

These views, so suggestive, I would earnestly wish to present and to press; but to speak plainly, sir, I am obliged to remain here at my post, for, whilst I am hoping for the best, I am *preparing for the worst.* May God grant that the nation may be saved, by the election of that good and great national conservative, James Buchanan. The great argument for the success of Democracy is that it is, at least, a respite to the nation—the only surety, even for a time of peace. I regret that I cannot speak, instead of writing to you so unsatisfactorily.

Yours truly, HENRY A. WISE.

SAFETY OF THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY—MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE SOUTH.

IT is a wide-spread, but as widely erroneous an opinion at the North, that there is in the South a sense of insecurity and a constant apprehension of outbreaking insurrection. There never was a greater or more unfounded mistake. Our sense of security is perfect; we go to our slumbers, with our slaves, as our watchers and guardians, to protect us and our property from violence or spoliation. My servants lock me up at night, keep the key of my door, and unlock me in the morning, and *ex uno disce omnes.* At the plantation of my late mother-in-law, a lone widow, except when her married daughters and grand-children visited her—in the midst of her sixty slaves—her men servants, taking their turns by twos, were her nightly sentinels, to guard against the approach of marauders and other evil-doers. And such is the custom on most plantations. Andrew Pickens Calhoun, Esq., eldest son of the great Southerner (who has recently returned, as a resident, to his native State, and now owns Fort Hill, the family homestead of his illustrious father), informed me that, in the cotton growing region of Alabama, he was one of thirty white persons (adults, I suppose, he meant) in the midst of five thousand slaves. Who can imagine a higher degree of security than is indicated by such a speaking fact? Besides, in all the time that slavery has existed in the Southern States, the worst and the only serious insurrection which has ever occurred was that of Nat Turner, in Virginia, in 1831, when but sixty white lives fell a sacrifice to the mad and easily crushed *émeute.* Why, accidents on railroads and steamboats, steam car and steam boiler explosions, and collisions of railroad cars on land, and of ships or other vessels on the water, destroy more lives, at a time, than are here chargeable to insurrectionary account; and Northern mobs are far more frequent and destructive to life and property than slave disturbances in the South. In Charleston and in South Carolina, my own native city and State, there has been no serious or well authenticated attempt at insurrection, since the commencement of the Revolution, and for a long time before that event, except the seasonably detected and easily frustrated one of 1822, which was of very limited extent. History records no previous one; although tradition does dimly shadow forth one, in an early period of our colonial existence, when the African slave was fresh from his barbarian home. Yet so obstinate and excessive is fanatic credulity that Miss Harriet Martineau, after passing six or eight months in the bosom of our families, in city and on plantations, goes home and writes a book, in which she chronicles the absurd fabrication that the people of Charleston go to bed every night fearing (to give an Irish turn to her expression) that they will wake in the morning and find their throats cut from ear to ear!

If there had been time for it, I would also have enlarged on the military strength of the South, as connected with and promoted by the institution of slavery. In free countries the peasantry, the tillers of the soil, are required to fill up armies in time of war, and agriculture suffers accordingly; but, in slaveholding countries, war disturbs not the operations of the farm or the plantation (except when they are ravaged by the enemy, an evil to which free States are equally subject), for the peasantry are slaves, and freemen alone constitute the military arm of the country, for both defence and invasion. Nor is there any danger from slaves in periods of war, for two very sufficient reasons—first, the freemen are then armed cap-a-pie and disciplined, and best fitted and able to prevent or suppress revolt; and, secondly, the attachment of slaves, generally, to their masters is such that, as proved by our Revolutionary history, when armed, they, like the trained bond servants of Abraham, in the Bible, do battle not for, but against their masters' enemies. Instances were common, in the Revolutionary history of South Carolina, of masters arming their slaves, and doing so effectually, to defend life and property against British assault and spoliation; and the faithful slave often refused, under threatened and actual torture, to discover to the British or the Tories the hiding places of their masters.

What, then, have we to apprehend on this score? Nothing, literally nothing. We are contented with our slaves, and they are contented with us; and I am one of those who confidently believe that it is not in the power of the Serpent of Abolitionism, however Satanic his intent, and although he may lie coiled at the very foot of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, to diffuse his poison, or to do any serious mischief in our Southern Eden.—*Richard Yeadon, Ed. Charleston Courier.*

THE SOUTH APATHETIC.

From The Charleston Courier.

IT is indeed strange that whilst the North are roused, *the South are apathetic.* How leisurely we recline under the shadow of our own institutions, whilst a revolution is approaching. We dream not of danger at the very moment danger is rapidly advancing. What infatuation! South Carolina has for years threatened a dissolution of the Union in the event of Federal action upon her peculiar class of labour. That action has already begun. *The North has accepted the issue;* and under the banner of Black Republicanism, with Fremont as Chieftain, is marshalling for the contest. Inscribed on the banner are the words: "No more slave States." The plan of the campaign is announced, the very day fixed for the battle, and throughout their ranks are already shouted the notes of anticipated victory. Every portion of the North seems alive to the issue, and from her solemn temples go up the prayers of men, women and children, amidst the fierce denunciations of an Abolition priesthood. When we see these things done in a nation, rely upon it there is a fearful coming on of times. What, then, does it behoove us to do? The answer is: Awake from your false security, and meet the danger on the threshold. The election for representatives to Congress and the Legislature approaches—see that you send good and true men.

To enable us to do this, let us resolve to send no member to Columbia who is not prepared, *upon the announcement of Fremont's election, to vote a resolution of separation, and no member to Congress who is not of like sentiment;* let the question be propounded to every candidate, and a response be given by a friend in the absence of a candidate, or if that cannot be done, let the antecedents of that candidate be stated. We must ascertain his conduct in periods of our State struggles with Federal usurpation—his sentiments in relation to the various questions regarding State rights and State duties, which have agitated our sections for years past. We need at this time, talents, honesty, firmness of purpose, deep-abiding interest in our peculiar institution; let all, all be spread upon the record; let us fully comprehend our real position, and awake up to the startling fact that the Abolitionists already possess the popular branch of Congress—that the Senate must in two years be theirs, and that upon the election of Fremont the entire power of this mighty Confederacy has passed from us forever to those so fiercely inimical to slavery as to invoke religion in their behalf. If the North succeed in the trial upon the issue we ourselves have made, and judgment be obtained by the verdict of a majority, execution will not long be delayed. The first act will be the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories. The slaves carried to Kansas will be driven out, and *all hope of another slave State extinguished; even the four States to which the South are entitled out of Texas will be denied us, as their admission is consequent upon the assent of Congress.*

Is it not apparent that the South slumbers on the sides of a volcano, whose fires, if not soon extinguished, must soon consume everything we cherish, should the North get the power? Think ye she will forbear to use it? Think ye that the spirit of bigotry, or religion, if you please, that has worked up the elements to this fearful pitch, will stop in mid career; has it not announced from pulpit, and conference, and synod, that slavery is a rank offence and cries to heaven?—has it not enunciated the proposition that, if the North get the power and exerciseth it not to abolish slavery from the land, they will equally be steeped in sin? When, therefore, they get the power, they will be compelled, by their own creed, to exercise it; and, if the Union be not at once dissolved, we leave in their hands all the means of exercising the power. The Constitution gives the power to three-fourths of the States to amend the instrument. The General Government have Territory sufficient at once to carve out a number of States, which, added to the free States, forthwith confers that power, and the man amongst us who believes that power will not be exerted is insane.

To remain, therefore, one moment in this Union after it is ascertained that the Federal Government is irrevocably transferred to the North, would be transcendent infatuation. Now, what is the remedy for all this? My reply is prompt, "No palliatives." No attempting to force the battle by small arms. Resolve upon decisive action. The means of action are in your hands; on the 4th of November, the election of President occurs; by means of the telegraph we can know in two days the result. In case of a decided majority of the States, our Legislature must meet to vote; *and should Fremont be elected, let them at once declare that the State secedes.* Should want of intelligence from California leave the case doubtful, let, then, a resolution be passed, meeting the exigency. Citizens of South Carolina, look the danger in the face, gird up your loins, and let us, like Patrick Henry, exclaim, give us "Liberty or Death"; or, like Christopher Gadsden, "Resistance at all hazards." Oh, that we had the same spirits now that danced just before the Revolution around that Old Oak, which many in this town recollect was long called the Tree of Liberty, aye and moved around with clasped hands and strong hearts when came the battle and the breeze; when the Rutledges, Pinckneys, Moultries and Laurenses threw their property into the scales and their swords with it; when the timid shrank and the brave stood firm.

LAOCOON

great public principles, and nations that adopt this course on the proper occasions in the end gain by it, and are compensated for the temporary sacrifice by lasting credit and position. The English nation has just now acted on this principle; and given an example of a war undertaken, at the greatest national sacrifice, for a great public end—the resistance and punishment of aggression. If the Northern States, then, are serious in their hatred of slavery, they must begin now to give practical proofs of it, and show that they will undergo sacrifices.

The time for talking and speechifying is over; this is very well in its place, and very effective as a preliminary; it is a natural vent for enthusiasm; public meetings, pamphlets, and sermons, are all proper at the proper time; even a good deal of froth and nonsense is not amiss in its season, for when people are zealous and excited they will not always stay within the rigid bonds of sense. But the time for all this mere talk is over now, and *the Northern man must fight for his principles if he wants his principles to prevail.* He must either leave the Union, or he must rule the Union; there is no middle course to him for the solution of his difficulty and the satisfaction of his conscience; and if he intends to rule the Union, he must be ready to defend his position. We learn from our correspondent that some of the Northern States are already convinced of this, and are preparing measures accordingly. "It seems probable," he says, "that extra sessions of the Legislatures of more than one Northern State will be called for the purpose of voting money and aid for the relief and defence of the defeated party. Thus the conflict is spreading and embroiling far greater interests than those at first engaged in it."

It is evident that the Northern States cannot shrink from this sacrifice without risking the greatest loss of weight and position in the Union. Beaten on this cardinal question—and they will be worse than beaten if they only avoid defeat by not resisting—they must make up their minds henceforth to play a secondary part in the Union, and occupy a position analogous to that of a second-rate Power in the European field. They must consider themselves to be simply handing over the Union to their opponents, to manage it in their own way. They are shut out from triumphs and laurels, from power and office, for who will side with a party that are not true to themselves? Their whole public life will be under a cloud. A dominant slavery will sit upon them like a nightmare, stifle their efforts, and paralyze their energies. Conscience will rebuke them, friends will abandon them, opponents will deride them; they will be the laughing-stock of the whole Union for having talked much and done nothing. But we are convinced that there is a brighter future than this for "the North."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1856.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MEETING.—We devote our inside pages this week almost exclusively to a report, by Mr. W. H. BURR, of the proceedings of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, at its annual meeting, held in Norristown last week. We have no space for comment. It must suffice to say, that while the attendance was less numerous than in some former years, the spirit exhibited by those who were present was eminently hopeful and courageous. PARKER PILLSBURY met a hearty welcome, and, in spite of his feeble health, rendered efficient and acceptable service. The Annual Report of the Executive Committee, from the vigorous and discriminating pen of J. MILLER MCKIM, is a paper of such interest and value as to deserve the careful attention of every reader; while Mr. Garrison's letter will be accepted by the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society as a forcible illustration of their doctrines and duties at the present crisis.

TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At Norristown, Oct. 16th and 17th, 1856.

THE Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society was held at Norristown, on Thursday and Friday, the 16th and 17th inst. At 10 1-4 o'clock the meeting was called to order by the President, JAMES MOTT, and, in the absence of Mr. Gillingham, the Recording Secretary, REUBEN TOMLINSON was chosen Secretary, and WM. HENRY BURR Assistant Secretary.

On motion, a Business Committee was appointed by the Chair, consisting of the following persons: J. M. McKim, Parker Pillsbury, Mary Grew, O. Johnson, A. M. Powell, John Wainwright, Jonathan Cable and Lucretia Mott.

In consequence of the neglect to give sufficient notice in the town, the attendance was small; and as the janitor had failed to heat the furnace, it was moved that the meeting adjourn till one o'clock; and in the meantime the Business Committee could have an opportunity to prepare their resolutions. The meeting accordingly adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.—The CHAIR announced that a letter had been received from WM. LLOYD GARRISON, and it was read by OLIVER JOHNSON, as follows:

BOSTON, Oct. 14, 1856.

J. MILLER MCKIM—*My Dear Friend:* Having been for a few weeks past suffering from ill-health, I reluctantly deem it prudent to forego being at the approaching annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society—deeply regretting to cause any disappointment on account of my absence, and especially that I must be deprived of the unspeakable pleasure of once more seeing, face to face, those whom I regard as among my dearest friends and most reliable coadjutors, whose presence is ever to me an inspiration, and "of whom the world is not worthy."

But my absence will be of little consequence, not only because there will in all probability be no lack of speakers, but because this is not the hour for any of us to obtain a candid hearing, while the community is in a high fever, and a political earthquake is shaking the land to its centre. It is only after the earthquake that the "still, small voice" of truth can be heard, and we must patiently bide our time.

The crisis is full of temptation to swerve from the straight line of rectitude, in order to avert an impending calamity, and to drive back the minions of despotism. Our ranks are again to be thinned, through the pressure of a terrible exigency. Once more, like wheat, we are thoroughly to be sifted. It is difficult to speak so as not to be misunderstood, or to have our language perverted through party trickery. Nevertheless, we may not be wholly dumb. If we may not hope to gain any converts at this hour, we can at least renew our testimonies, "whether men will hear or forbear."

What, then, is our duty as Abolitionists in the present crisis? First—what it is *not*.

It is not to abandon our principles, for they are immutable and eternal. It is not to lessen our demands, for they are just and right. It is not to lose sight of, or postpone to a more favourable period, the glorious object we have ever had in view—to wit, the total and immediate extinction of slavery—for this would be fatuity. It is not to substitute the non-extension for the abolition of slavery, for this would be to wrestle with an effect, while leaving the cause untouched—to seek to avert the penalty of sin, while allowing the sin itself to go unrepented of. It is not to lower our standard, in order to propitiate the time-serving and cowardly, or to carry any measure however desirable, for this would be certain defeat. It is not to concentrate our forces upon any geographical or side issue with the Slave Power, for this would be a fatal diversion. It is not to plead for the white labourer to the forgetfulness of the black labourer, nor to concern ourselves exclusively with consecrating to freedom any particular portion of the American soil, for ours is neither a complexional nor a sectional movement. It is not to act upon the jesuitical maxim, that the end sanctifies the means, for this is the all-corrupting sin in every part of this rebellious world. It is not to seek what is most available for the hour, or temporary success upon a false basis, for this is to rely upon numbers, and not upon God—upon policy, and not upon principle.

Our duty is first personal, in regard to ourselves. We are to see to it that we make no truce with slavery, either directly or by implication; that we give to it no religious or political sanction in any form, or to any extent; that our hands are clean, and our consciences without condemnation; that we "remember them that are in bonds as being bound with them."

This duty performed, our next is to call to repentance our guilty land; to impeach, criticise, admonish, entreat, rebuke every sect, every party, every person, in affiance or sympathy with the oppressors, or indifferent to the claims of the perishing bondmen; to reject all half-way measures, while hailing with gladness the smallest indications of progress; to be as inexorable as justice, as contumacious as truth, as unbending as the pillars of the universe; to "put on the whole armour of God, and, having done all, TO STAND."

Where, then, is our proper place in the political struggle which is now convulsing the nation, and exciting an unparalelled anxiety in the breasts of the people?

Surely, not with the Democratic party; beyond all question, the most corrupt, the most shameless, the most abandoned, and the most desperate party in existence. From the beginning, "the natural ally of slavery," it has continued to wax worse and worse, till now it is thoroughly Satanic in spirit and purpose; the embodiment of border-ruffianism; its rank-and-file made up largely of the ignorant, the besotted, the mobocratic, the intensely depraved, the utterly lawless, the horribly profane, the fearfully misguided—and governed by the vilest demagogues, the most dangerous conspirators, and the most bloody-minded tyrants; avowing sentiments more derogatory to human nature, more hostile to human liberty, more insulting to Heaven, than have been promulgated by all the tories of Europe for a thousand years; laughing to scorn the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence, and impudently branding them as self-evident lies; perfidious to all its pledges, prostrating every barrier of freedom, trampling in the dust the Constitution it has sworn to maintain, and making it a crime worthy of imprisonment and death for freemen to defend their lives and property against the murderous assaults of roving bandits and merciless cut-throats. Language is inadequate to describe the transcendent wickedness of the Democratic party, in its present position and under its present guidance. Its mask is off, and INFERNALISM is stamped upon its countenance. Very many of its adherents are to be pitied, for they are duped through their excessive credulity and ignorance; but the intelligent in its ranks, and at its head, are utterly without excuse. They are manifestly destitute of all honesty, traitors to the cause of liberty, and bent on the overthrow of all our free institutions, to subserve their own ends, and forever to establish the bloody supremacy of the slave power over the whole land—ay, over this whole continent. Under the administration of this party, the government has been overthrown, by a *coup d'etat* of the slave oligarchy in the person of Franklin Pierce, assisted by such conspirators as Caleb Cushing, Jefferson Davis, Stephen Arnold Douglas, Lewis Cass, and the whole body of Kansas ruffians—Atchison, Stringfellow, Lecompte, Shannon, Geary, and their associates—and prompted by such lords of the lash and the bludgeon as Butler and Brooks of Carolina, Wise of Virginia, and Toombs of Georgia. It is mockery now to talk of constitutional guarantees on the side of liberty. We are living under a usurpation as absolute as it is detestable; and the fact that the traitorous occupant of the Presidential chair goes unimpeached and unpunished is demonstrative evidence of the general degradation of the people.

All that this party has done, all that it proposes to do, in the way of fillibustering and slavery extension, by armed invasion and through fire and blood, its candidate for the Presidency, James Buchanan, most cordially sanctions; and yet while I am writing, it is thought to be more than probable that he will obtain the vote of Pennsylvania, and thus secure his election! How much better, then, is Pennsylvania than Georgia or Carolina?

No—no friend of the slave, no enemy of slavery extension, can give his support to the Democratic party or its nominee.

As for the American party, it is based upon proscription, and thoroughly pro-slavery. Its candidate, Millard Fillmore, the infamous signer of the execrable Fugitive Slave Law, openly incites to rebellion, on the part of the South, if the North shall achieve a constitutional triumph in the election of Fremont at the pending election! He is playing a most factious part, animated by that spirit which would "rather reign in hell than serve in heaven," and reveals himself to be more and more the supple tool of the slave oligarchy.

Where stands the Republican party, and to what extent is it deserving of commendation or censure?

1. Unquestionably, it embodies the whole *political* anti-slavery strength of the country—the legitimate product of the *moral* agitation of the subject of slavery for the last quarter of a century; for it is not conceivable that any voter desirous of frustrating the aim of the Slave Power at universal dominion will bestow his suffrage upon either Buchanan or Fillmore. In general intelligence, virtuous character, humane sentiment, and patriotic feeling—as well as in the object it is seeking to accomplish—it is incomparably better than the other rival parties; and its success, *as against those parties*, will be a cheering sign of the times.

2. It is sincerely, strenuously, and against the combined forces of the slave oligarchy, wielded with diabolical malignity, endeavouring to prevent the vast territories of the West from becoming a slaveholding empire, divided into manifold slave States; and to this extent it is favourable to the cause of freedom.

3. It is allowed no foothold at the South, but is everywhere furiously ostracised, so that no meeting can be safely held to advocate its claims, no electoral ticket favourable to the election of its candidates can be formed, no slaveholder, even, can declare his adhesion to it without imperilling his life, and every vial of slaveholding wrath is poured out upon it, and upon all who are identified with it; notwithstanding its constant disavowal of all wish or intention to interfere with slavery where it now exists.

4. It divides the nation by a geographical line, but without any sectional feeling on its own part; this division being caused solely by its just defence of the rights of the North against the daring invasions of the Slave Power, which is determined to "crush out" every sentiment of freedom in the land, and to punish opposition to its monstrous designs as summarily in Massachusetts as in Virginia or Alabama.

5. It helps to disseminate no small amount of light and knowledge in regard to the nature and workings of the slave system, being necessitated to do this to maintain its position; and thus, for the time being, it is moulding public sentiment in the right direction, though with no purpose to aid us in the specific work we are striving to accomplish—namely, the dissolution of the Union, and the abolition of slavery throughout the land.

All this may be fairly set down to the credit of the Republican party; and it is a wise apostolic injunction to give "credit to whom credit is due." Let us be clear in our discrimination, and just in our award, without yielding one jot or tittle of principle, or moving a hair's-breadth from the path of duty.

Because of this marked difference between these parties, ought we therefore to vote for Fremont and Dayton? Can we vote at all?

As a matter of moral consistency, certainly not—for the following among other considerations:

1. For more than twelve years, in our organized capacity as well as individually, (accepting the collective and uniform judgment of the nation respecting the character and design of the instrument), we have solemnly proclaimed the Constitution of the United States to be "A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL," in consequence of its pro-slavery guarantees, and, therefore, that no oath should be taken to uphold it, either by ourselves or by our representatives. We have persistently called for its repudiation on the ground of its inherent wickedness, and its utter overthrow as the bulwark of the slave system. We have traced to it the amazing growth and omnipresent power of the slave system, and found in it the cause of that corruption and vassalage which pervade the entire North. But, aside from any question touching the letter or the spirit of the Constitution, we have constantly declared it to be an axiom of common sense, as well as of fundamental morality, that between freemen and slaveholders there can be no true union; that it is as easy for Christ and Belial to coalesce as it is for Liberty and Slavery; that the institutions and interests of the North are necessarily hostile to those of the South, and *vice versa*—exciting ever increasing jealousies and leading to continual collisions, as our national history plainly demonstrates; that, without the existing Union, the South would be compelled, for self-preservation, and from necessity, speedily to liberate all her bondmen; and thus the overthrow of this blood-stained compact would lead to the formation of a "solemn league and covenant" between all the States, based upon universal freedom, with no root of bitterness to poison our cup; that, by perpetuating this Union, the Slave Power will grow stronger and stronger, more and more exciting, and be able to consummate its boldest designs; that to call those who make merchandise of their fellow-men, and who vindicate the eternal fitness of slavery to the Southern soil and climate, Christians and Democrats is as insulting to reason as to talk of honest thieves and sober drunkards—and to think of keeping their company without strife or debate, unless degraded to their own abysmal level, is complete infatuation; that they constitute an oligarchy more tyrannical in spirit, more hostile to human development, more barbarous in their conduct, and more shameless in their villany, than any that has ever cursed mankind; that to separate from them, in form and in fact, is due to self-respect, to true manhood, to the cause of freedom universally, to sound morality, to the Christian religion as exemplified by its glorious founder. Finally, we have faithfully protested against turning aside to attend to some local issue, but have always made the slave the skeleton at every feast—Banquo's ghost that will not down at the bidding or entreaty of any party or sect—the test of statesmanship and true patriotism; insisting that any struggle which leaves his deliverance out of the question, or throws him into the background, is essentially defective, and unworthy of our support.

Now, under all these circumstances, for us to rally to the polls in support of an incidental issue with the Slave Power—to become the partisans of a man who simply prefers that the Western territories should be cultivated by free labourers rather than by slaves—to endorse a party which declares itself ready to carry out all the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution, and wholly indisposed to meddle with the institution of slavery in the Southern States, merely because it is trying to secure a free homestead for white men—would be the grossest inconsistency, in utter disregard of all our professions, and such a glaring violation of our principles that the whole land would regard us with pity, if not with contempt. Unless it is right to do evil that good may come, we are excluded from the polls, in such a contest, by an insuperable moral barrier. The ballot which is stained with the blood of four millions of slaves is not fit to be handled by a freeman. If we can save Kansas only by first swearing to maintain "A COVENANT WITH DEATH," then God absolves us from all responsibility for its loss. We shall do best for Kansas, best for the South, best for the Republic, by a stern adherence to our principles, and refusing to compromise with sin. Our feet are planted upon the Eternal rock: why should we place them upon a sandy foundation? "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

2. The dissolution of the Union is not to leave the slaves to the mercy of their masters; it is to withdraw from their masters all those resources and instrumentalities now furnished to them by the North, without which they are powerless. It is admitted on all sides, and especially by the leaders of the Republican party, that it is madness for the South to threaten a dissolution of the Union; for it is only through the Union she is enabled to keep her millions of slaves in their chains. Let her cut the connection, and she will be struck with paralysis. This is true. How unspeakably awful, then, is such a Union! Whatever else a party may be, whatever else it may be trying to do that is praiseworthy, how great must be its guilt in conspiring to make perpetual the enshavement of a population equal to the whole of New England!

3. Let us remember that though there has been a Union in theory, there has never been one in fact, between the free and the slave States; that, from the organization of the government till now, the slave oligarchy has had the reins in its own hands; that the breach widens as the spirit of liberty increases in courage and strength at the North; that a Union still continues to exist in form only because the vassalage of the North is unbroken.

4. What an absurdity it is for those who cannot hold a public meeting at the South in favour of freedom, and who would be lynched if they should make the attempt—for Seward, Hale, Sumner, Banks, Wilson, and Giddings—to declare that they will stand by the Union to the last! Padlocks are upon their lips in one-half of the Union; yet they insist on its preservation! Where is their manhood—their self-respect—their love of liberty?

But I will add no more. Let us stand by our cause, by the slave in his chains, by the standard of right, leaving the event in the hands of an all-wise God, who alone sees the end from the beginning.

Yours, for no Union with Slaveholders,
WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

LUCRETIA MOTT thought that some acknowledgment was due for this interesting and important letter. It had been difficult to convince many persons that Mr. Garrison and his coadjutors were not really favourable to the election of Buchanan; this letter placed that matter in so clear a light that there could be no misconception upon the subject.

Mr. MCKIM, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, submitted the Annual Report of the Executive Committee, as follows:

TWENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Twenty-three years ago, a little band of men met in Philadelphia, to give organic form to an enterprise which had been previously conceived, for the abolition of American slavery. At that time the profoundest apathy prevailed on this subject throughout the land. With the exception of the few individuals, scattered here and there, who had been awakened by the voice of *The Liberator*, or who, having been previously aroused by other causes, were now in cooperation with this pioneer of liberty, the whole American people were, in regard to this subject, sleeping the sleep of death. It was a topic on which they were reluctant to speak, and unwilling even to think. The very existence of the slave system in their midst was practically ignored. If in any instance the deep silence which prevailed was broken, it was only to express the belief that the evil was one of such magnitude, and the circumstances of its existence so peculiar, as to forbid the hope of its eradication, or at least to place that achievement beyond the reach of human instrumentality. The only thing, it was alleged, that could be done was to ameliorate the condition of a few, here and there, of its victims, and leave it to God, in His own good time, and in His own mysterious way, to put a period to the evil. The plan relied upon for this amelioration was the then popular scheme of African colonization. This Janus-faced institution, at that time, held almost undisputed possession of the hearts of the people. At the North it appealed to philanthropy, and spoke as the friend of the slave; at the South it addressed itself to slaveholding selfishness and demanded the support of the planter as a safety-valve for the security of his system. Everywhere it spoke to the prejudices of the people, teaching doctrines and inculcating a spirit the effect of which was to rivet the chains of the slave, and perpetuate the degradation of the free black man. Slavery, it admitted, was abstractly an evil, but in the concrete and under the circumstances it was a good thing. Emancipation might be well enough theoretically, but reduced to practice it would be a national calamity. Manumission by individuals it declared to be a public immorality, unless accompanied with the condition, in most cases impossible, of transportation to Africa. Prejudice against colour might be hard in its operation in some cases, but on the whole it had its uses, and was an ordination of Heaven and not to be resisted.

It was at such a juncture as this, and amid the prevalence on all sides of doctrines such as these, that the modern movement against slavery took its rise. Of course, it had to encounter almost unanimous condemnation. Its announcement was greeted with mingled shouts of derision and execration. But its originators were not to be moved by clamour. They had weighed well their undertaking and knew the ground of their hope. Their first step was to make a public declaration of their sentiments and to announce to the world the measures by which they expected to reduce their sentiments to practice.

"Slavery," they said, "is contrary to the principles of natural justice, of our Republican Form of Government and of the Christian religion. It is destructive to national prosperity and dangerous to the peace and liberties of the States; and, in view of our civil and religious privileges, the guilt of this nation is unequalled by that of any other on the face of the earth. Its immediate duty, therefore, is to repent, to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke and to let the oppressed go free."

"No man," said they, "has a right to enslave his fellow-man or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him for one moment as a piece of merchandise—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social and moral improvement. His right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own toil—to the protection of law, and to the common advantages of society. If, as is declared by Act of Congress, it is *piracy* to buy or steal, or subject to servitude, a native African, the crime of enslaving a born American can be no less atrocious."

"Therefore," they declared, "the slaves ought to be instantly set free and brought under the protection of law. All those statutes now in force admitting the right of slavery are, before God, utterly null and void, being an audacious assumption of the Divine prerogative; a daring infringement of the law of nature; a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact; a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments; consequently they ought to be instantly abrogated."

They further affirmed that "all persons of colour who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges and the exercise of the same prerogatives as others, and that the paths of preferment, of wealth and of intelligence should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion."

Having made these declarations of sentiment, they avowed their purpose to labour for the spread and enforcement of their views only by moral means. "Not by physical resistance," said they—"the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter—but by such measures only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the power of love—the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance." "Believing," they added, "that is practicable, by appeals to the consciences, hearts and interests of the people, to awaken a public sentiment throughout the country that will be opposed to the continuance of slavery, in any portion of the Republic, we shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies in every part of the country where it is possible; we shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of entreaty, warning and rebuke; we shall circulate, unsparingly, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals; we shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb; we shall aim at the purification of churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery, and we shall spare no exertions to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance."

These were the sentiments and this the programme of measures that were published twenty-three years ago in Philadelphia, at the national organization of the anti-slavery movement. That they have been faithfully adhered to, and successfully put in execution, we can safely call the world to testify. From our principles—for we may speak in the first person—we have not swerved either to the right hand or to the left. We have allowed ourselves to be seduced into no concessions; to be coerced into no compromises. If the great gulf which has separated us from the world has been bridged, or its width has been sensibly diminished, it is not because of any change that can be alleged to have taken place in us. We have neither changed our principles nor modified our measures. The world has come toward us; we have not gone to the world. By what was once characterized as "the foolishness of preaching," and more lately derided as the "rub-a-dub of abolition," this whole nation has been roused from its guilty slumbers, and the entire land is now quaking with a wholesome agitation.

We said we would organize Anti-Slavery Societies in every city, town and village, where it was possible; and we have done so. If some of these Societies have been allowed to pass out of existence, it has been because their services as such in the growth of our movement could be dispensed with. All that have been found requisite to maintain the anti-slavery forces in organized and harmonious activity are still in operation. One of these is the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, which is here assembled, and on whose behalf we now speak. Aided by effective auxiliaries, and affiliated with other similar State organizations, it has performed its own part in bringing about the state of things which we have indicated as at present existing.

We said "we would send forth agents to lift up the voice of warning and rebuke"; and we have done so; "rising up early and sending" them. From the beginning until this time, able and devoted preachers of our faith have traversed the field, calling upon the people, whether they would hear or whether they would forbear, to cease to do evil and learn to do well; to loose the bands of wickedness, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free; to cease striking hands with iniquity, and no longer to be partakers in other men's sins. Faithfully have these agents done their duty. Unmoved by calumny and undeterred by mob violence, they have continued steadfast in their work of faith and labour of love. Some have fallen in the field in the midst of their toils, while others survive, broken in constitution, but ready still to do and die for the cause to which they have consecrated themselves.

We said "we would circulate unsparingly anti-slavery tracts and periodicals," and have we not done so? Thick as the leaves of autumn have we scattered them. Millions upon millions of glowing pages have been strewed as upon the wings of the wind, diffusing the light of liberty and kindling against the slave system a fire of indignation which, in the end, must burn it out of existence.

We said "we would enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb," and on this point too we have made good our words. Among the most distinguished advocates who now plead the cause of Freedom are men who are or have been recognised and set apart as professed ministers of the Gospel. For although in times past we have suffered much from the enmity and opposition of this class, the facts now show that they are no more proof than other men against the reformatory influences which are softening the hearts of the people. An evidence of this is seen in the petition to Congress of the 3,000 New England clergymen against the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and in the interest which is taken by the clerical body generally, to counteract the object of that nefarious measure. As for the Press, the change has been truly marvellous. So great has been the revolution in the character of our Northern newspapers that on the collateral issues at least now before the people, of the great slave question, the leading journals, political, religious and commercial, are on the side of Freedom. And as to the literature of the day, it is not only strongly favourable to our cause, but it is essentially anti-slavery in its character, having its growth and deriving its chief support from the anti-slavery sentiment of the community. Anti-slavery novels, anti-slavery biographies, anti-slavery speeches and anti-slavery essays, make up at this time the chief reading of the country. The publishers of Mrs. Stowe's new book have issued 3,500 copies a day without being able to supply the demand; and the readers of Charles Sumner's last speech in the Senate are estimated by millions.

We said "we would labour for the elevation of the free coloured man, and for the extirpation of the prejudice by which he was oppressed." We have done so, and a cheering degree of success has crowned our efforts. The moral, intellectual and material condition of the free coloured people has been greatly improved. They now enjoy the benefits of schools, colleges, newspapers, lectures, and other privileges, to which they were before comparative strangers; and the success of many of them in the acquisition of wordly wealth shows that in this respect also they have the advantage of increased facilities and inducements. Invidious and oppressive laws against them have been repealed, and the prejudice which once ground them to the earth, though still bitter, is not so extensively cherished, and where it exists is divested of much of its rancour.

But there is no need to enumerate specific evidences of our progress. A glance at the politics of the country and the present position and character of political parties, will make plain, without further illustration, the point to which we have reached of anti-slavery advancement. Now, for the first time in the history of Presidential contests, slavery is the sole and acknowledged issue. The question is, not whether slavery shall be abolished in the States where it now exists, but whether or not it shall be extended into territory from which it has hitherto been excluded. On this issue the country is divided into two parties—a Northern party and a Southern party. The Southern party has many active coadjutors at the North; and the Northern party has some adherents at the South. The Southern party has a Northern man for its Presidential candidate; the candidate of the Northern party is by birth and education a Southern man. The one party is called the Democratic, the other Republican. There is apparently another party in the field, professing to occupy intermediate ground, and styled "American," but resolved into its original elements, its members will be found to belong to one or other of the great divisions we have indicated.

The question being between slavery and freedom—between the slaveholding oligarchy and the friends of free labour and free institutions—the contest is necessarily a sectional one. Until now the South has ruled supreme in the counsels of the nation. They have dictated the laws and determined the policy of the country. Of late, however, the tenure by which they have maintained their sway has been greatly weakened. The developments made by the anti-slavery movement have opened people's eyes, and the insolence of Southern domination has produced a natural reaction. The passage by Congress of the Kansas-Nebraska bill has proved a test too severe for even Northern endurance. The perfidious character of that measure, the profligate means employed to force it through Congress, the unconcealed baseness of its ultimate purpose and the bloody atrocities resorted to to give it final effect—murders, robbery, rape, the scalping of men living and dead, and other barbarities which would be disgraceful to savages—all these things have combined to arouse the North and revealed in new light the nature of slavery and the character of the whole slave system. The consequence is, as has been said, that in the present Presidential contest parties are divided solely upon the slavery issue; the party of the South contending for the admission of slavery into Kansas, and claiming the right of slaveholders, under the Constitution, to take their human property, as such, into any part of our national domain; and, on the other hand, the party of the North declare their purpose to make Kansas a free State, and deny the right of the slaveholders, under the Constitution, to retain possession of their slaves beyond the limits of their own municipal law. Thus, though there is no abolition issue before the people, no proposition being made or purpose entertained of interfering with slavery where it is already established, nevertheless the whole question of slavery is opened up on its merits; party lines are drawn accordingly, and the people, willing or unwilling, are compelled to take sides.

This is a very gratifying state of affairs, as an indication of advancement, and as a harbinger of better things to come. The sympaties and best wishes of all true friends of liberty the world over must of necessity be with the party which is battling for free soil and disputing the supremacy of the Slave Power. But beyond sympathy, and a discriminating expression of preference, it is impossible, in our judgment, for the true Abolitionist to go without self-stultification.

The difference between the anti-slavery movement and the Republican party is one of principle, and is heaven-wide. The one is opposed merely to the spread of slavery; the other is opposed to its existence. The one resists the slave system only so far forth as it seeks to extend itself into new territories; the other regards this question of extension as a mere side-issue and seeks to cut up the whole system by the roots. The one is pledged to respect slavery in the States; the other declares its purpose, with the help of God and good men, to overthrow and abolish slavery in the States. The one boasts that it is "the white man's party," and disclaims as a motive of its action all sympathy with the negro; the other avows itself as primarily the black man's party, and although bearing in its hands the richest blessings to all classes, yet designed originally and especially for his benefit. The one, with hearts apparently untouched by the appeals of the bondmen already in chains, says, "this is no negro question"; the other, believing that God hath made of one blood all the nations to dwell on all the face of the earth, and that all are brethren, and moved to indignation at the sight of nearly four millions of men held in chains, on no better pretext than that of the colour of their skin, declare that this is emphatically a negro question. The one stands solemnly sworn to maintain and execute the pro-slavery compact of our fathers—a compact made under circumstances of temptation, and expected to be only temporary in its operation—a compact by which the North agrees to deliver up the fugitive slave, to shoot down the insurgent slave, and to continue to the slaveholder his extra-proportional representation in Congress and in the Electoral College. The other openly denies the obligations of this compact, and peremptorily refuses to be bound by it. It pronounces it, in the strong language of Scripture, "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and asserts that the first and only duty we owe in regard to it is to labour for its speedy annulment. In short, the Republican party is a Union party; our party is, in this question, a Disunion party: that there may be no misrepresentation on this point, let us explain the import of this phraseology:

In the first place, we do not mean to undervalue the proper uses of union—whether of States, or of individuals; or to depreciate in a country like ours the advantages of political confederation. Nor do we mean to be understood as cherishing a self-flattering or pharisaic sense of our own superiority; or as holding to the belief that civil government may not, like the rain from heaven, which descends upon the just and the unjust, extend its benefits to all classes; or that a body politic may not be rightly constituted, and yet include among its citizens even the worst of evil-doers. Nor do we mean to imply the existence on our part of any feelings of hostility toward the South, or a belief that the people of the North are, abstractly and apart from circumstances, any better than those of the slaveholding States. In speaking of disunion, we do not speak as politicians. We cherish no ambitious plans of self-aggrandizement, or invidious schemes of political ascendancy. We contemplate no popular tumult; no convulsive disruption of political ties; no general disintegration of the States. We propose nothing, we intend nothing inconsistent with the horror with which we, in common with all good men, regard the idea of civil or servile war, or any form of internecine strife.

When we speak of disunion, we speak as the advocates of a moral principle; and in advocating this doctrine, we are simply contending for the practical application of this principle to all existing relations in this country, religious and political. The pro-slavery ligaments, we maintain, which hold in union the Northern with the Southern States, should be instantly severed. The compact, under the obligations of which—whether as States or as individuals—we rest, to send back the fugitive, to strike down the uprising, to join hands with the enslaver, should be at once rescinded. There should be no connection whatever on the part of the people of the free States with those of the slave States, in which would make the former partakers with the latter in the support of the slave system.

This is what we mean by disunion. These are the sentiments which we seek to propagate. Already they are cherished and acted upon by an influential portion of the community. When they come, as we believe they will, to be so wide-spread as to make up the general public opinion, they will, by their own force, and without any special effort on our part, take the proper practical shape, and bring about the needful political action. What particular political changes and civil reconstructions may be necessary to insure all the legitimate benefits accruing from their adoption, it is not our prerogative to say. That we leave to those whose province or mission it may be to settle the affairs of State. Our concern with this question relates, as we have already said, to its moral aspects.

That the people generally are averse to a discussion of this Disunion question, we are well aware. So they were once to the discussion of the slavery question. They have got used to the one; they will become accustomed to the other. But, whether or not, this question is now fairly launched, and it will not cease to be debated, till some definite action is taken upon it. What the end of it all will be, it does not seem difficult to conjecture. In the very nature of things, the infamous pact which now holds together the slaveholding and non-slaveholding portions of the country must be cancelled, and the Union dissolved.

This Union has already existed longer than it was supposed it would by some of the men who aided in forming it. Its dissolution has been foreshadowed by the secret fears which have ever been betrayed in regard to it, and by the Farewell Addresses which have been relied on to prevent it. The instincts of the people have taught them that slavery and the Union were bound up indissolubly together, and that to lay effective hands upon one was to cut the ligaments of the other. The ablest political philosophers that have ever spoken upon the subject have expressed the belief that the existing Union would be dissevered. The profound and impartial De Tocqueville, than whom no man has ever better comprehended our institutions, saw the signs of approaching dissolution, and expressed his belief that, "happen what would, the commercial States would remain united," and would "one day become the first maritime power on the globe."

The universal feeling that now exists in this country is a presage of coming dissolution. Politicians may protest their devotion to the Union, and their followers may say amen; parties may vie with each other in protestations of loyalty, and each may declare that there is no danger of dissolution except from the success of the other; and both may asseverate, as they do, that the Union must and shall be preserved. Nevertheless the band-writing is upon the wall, and a seal is put to the doom of the iniquitous bargain. The people are calculating its value. They have at this moment no heartfelt regard for it. Their attachment to it is merely traditionary, and their reverence for it is a political superstition which will not bear the light of reason. There is in fact now no real Union between the North and the South. Gov. Wise has justly described the relation between the two, when he says it is one "of warlike brotherhood, of confederated antagonism, of shake-hand enmity, of sectional union, of united enmity." It is doubtful whether there are any two contiguous civilized nations on the face of the globe which are mutually more antagonistic in character, feeling and institutions, than are the slaveholding and non-slaveholding nations, so to speak, of this country. That this make-believe Union should continue much longer is impossible. It exists in violation of the law of God, and of the constitution of man, and in its nature must come to an end.

And this result will come, no matter who may be the next President. If Mr. Buchanan should be elected, it will surely come; for in addition to the general causes which have been enumerated as warring against a continuance of the Union, there will, in that event, be some special influences which will combine to insure the result. The most active men in the support of the Democratic candidate, and those who were chiefly instrumental in his nomination, are and were avowed disunionists. They are disunionists, not as a matter of morality or humanity, but from the base desire to perpetuate slavery, and the unholy ambition of ruling in a slaveholding Confederacy. "Let us," said the Richmond *Enquirer*, "detach Pennsylvania and southern Ohio, southern Indiana and southern Illinois from the North, and make the highlands between the Ohio and the lakes the boundary line. Let the South treat with California, and, if necessary, ally herself with Cuba and with Brazil." It was by an appeal to men holding views and cherishing purposes such as these that Mr. Buchanan's nomination was finally effected. President Pierce had made his bid for the Southern vote and Mr. Douglas had bid in competition, and for awhile the nomination seemed to be between these two contestants. But, in the meantime, as the balloting went on, Mr. Buchanan came in, in the person of one of his friends, and outbid them both. This was done in a speech delivered by Saml. W. Black, Esq., of this State, the forthcoming and meaning of which had been previously announced and privately explained. Mr. Black spoke as the recognised and particular friend of Mr. Buchanan, and, quoting in impressive tones the language of Ruth to Naomi, thus addressed the South:

"Entreat me not to leave thee or to return from following after thee; for whither thou goest I will go, and where thou lodgest I will lodge; thy people shall be my people and thy God my God. Where thou diest will I die and there will I be buried. The Lord do so to me and more also if ought but death shall part thee and me."

This was received with shouts from the Southern nullifiers. Mr. Buchanan was unanimously nominated, and the Convention adjourned to meet the next time in Charleston, South Carolina. The programme of the Southern disunionists, which is not a secret, but is openly spoken of, is to elect Mr. Buchanan, to admit Kansas as a slave State, to establish the nationality of slavery, to annex Cuba, to conquer Mexico, to reopen the slave trade and to let these events work out their own natural results. That one of these results would be immediate popular convulsion, and another the ultimate dismemberment of the Union, we think no reflecting mind can, for a moment, doubt.

In expressing the belief that the election of Mr. Buchanan would be followed by a dissolution of the Union, we do not mean to say that this event would be immediate, or even that it would be very much hastened, but that it would be an insured result.

And on the other hand, this event, though it might be retarded, could not be prevented by the election of Col. Fremont. It will come as the sequence of causes over which no President can exercise more than a temporary control. Col. Fremont, if elected, will doubtless be true to his oath of office. He will maintain the Constitution and use the means at his command to enforce the laws of Congress, the Fugitive Slave law of 1850 included. He will do all in his power to re-cement the loosened bonds of the Union. His policy will be at the outstart to strengthen and consolidate his party; to this end a first step will be to make friends at the South. He will be surrounded by political advisers who will counsel him to give palpable disproof of the charges brought against him of disaffection to the Union, and hostility to the slaveholders, and slavery in the States, and of sympathy with the Abolitionists. And without presuming to say to what extent he may be disposed to give ear to these counsels, certain it is he will do all he can, by conciliation and concession, and, if need be, by force, to

It is acknowledged that our issue is God's issue, and that we are right in the abstract, but God's issue must be postponed for man's. So our fathers thought.

We will urge upon the nation that repentance without which it shall perish, and we will pray to the God of all grace, the Ruler of the Universe, to grant that repentance, and turn the hearts of oppressors to love their outraged brother. We are verily guilty concerning our brother.

We will honour the higher law of eternal justice, and call upon every State Legislature to grant to every man that inalienable right to liberty, to which the nation has declared to the world every man is entitled.

It is high time to put less confidence in men, and more in Him, in whose hand is the destinies of all the nations of the earth, which he dasheth to pieces as a potter's vessel for their iniquities. "Cursed is the man who trusteth in man and maketh flesh his arm. Blessed is the man who trusteth in the Lord and whose hope the Lord is."

Our esteemed brother, Gerrit Smith, says, "Nothing short of an Abolition President and Congress can save this guilty and perishing nation." I believe that nothing short of repentance in principle and action on the part of the people, and the actual emancipation of the slaves by the State Legislatures, will save us.

Mr. Seward has announced a great and truthful principle, in saying that "political safety is dependent on the rendering of equal and exact justice to all men." "The victory will be to those who shall practise the highest moral courage with simple fidelity to the principles of humanity and justice." This is my faith. This is my platform. I will accept of no political platform which violates the right to freedom of a single member of the human brotherhood. It appears to me that Mr. Seward and other gentlemen who have nobly advocated the cause of the down-trodden slave, practically violate their own principles of "humanity and justice" in voting for Mr. Fremont, who is inflexible in the belief that the vile oppression of millions of our fellow-men "ought not to be interfered with."

In conclusion, let us all remember that every Constitution or political platform that involves an immoral principle is rebellion against the God of eternal justice, and subversive of that righteousness which exalteth a nation. It will avail us nothing, in the final judgment, to plead the American Constitution in vindication of oppressing our brother. At that tribunal many of the professors of the Christian religion will meet with the most awful condemnation.

EDWARD M. DAVIS approved very heartily of the sentiments expressed in the speech of Mr. Grew, and hoped it would be published in connection with the Report.

On motion, the Chair appointed the following persons as the Committee on Finance: Chandler Darlington, Richard P. Hallowell, Grace Anna Lewis, Harriet Purvis and Anna C. Davis.

And the following as the Committee on Nominations: Thomas Whitson, Sarah Pugh, John N. Russell, Hannah Cox and Robert Purvis.

The Business Committee then submitted the following resolutions for consideration.

1. Resolved, That the experience of twenty years has confirmed our faith in the fundamental principles of this Association, and strengthened our confidence in the measures by which it has sought to promote its object, the entire abolition of American slavery.

2. Resolved, That we trace with joy and gratitude the progress of the Anti-Slavery enterprise, from the hour of its inception to the present time; and that we hail as a glorious result of the long-continued and earnest labours of Abolitionists the moral and political revolution upon which this nation has now entered.

3. Resolved, That the system of American slavery is an organized despotism, which reduces to the condition of chattels nearly four millions of human beings on our Southern soil, and seeks to subjugate the whole North to its imperious will, to the utter destruction of a free press, free speech, and free thought.

PARKER PILLSBURY took the platform and was greeted with hearty applause. He said he did not rise because he had anything very special at this moment to communicate, but to add his own most hearty approval to that of his friend Davis of the remarks of his excellent friend Grew, who, in the able speech just made, had fully appreciated the nature and character of the anti-slavery enterprise. This enterprise, unless he was very much mistaken, was regarded with too much indifference even by its professed friends. It seemed as if many were ashamed of it; and yet it was almost the only thing that one ought to boast of in this country. We read the history of the American Revolution and fancy it was an event of vast consequence; and that if we had lived at that time, we would have been co-workers in it. Every man is proud to claim to be a descendant of the Revolutionary sires, just as the Jews were proud of being the descendants of Abraham. And yet the anti-slavery movement is of vastly more importance than was the American Revolution. I am quite sure the time will come—and I trust the children are now born who will see it—when it will be accounted a far greater honour to have been a co-worker with Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society or its auxiliaries than to be a descendant of the greatest hero of the Revolution. And yet it seems as if we are ashamed to be known as Abolitionists. The men of the Republican party seem ashamed to be known as such; and Northern men seem ashamed to be called Northern men. Not so with Democrats and Southern men.

In passing from Ohio to Philadelphia, I was struck with the difference in the tone and manner between Republicans and Democrats in their discussions. The Democrats talked boldly and manfully, and, though they spoke blasphemously, yet even that seemed more manly than the sneaking utterances of the Republicans. And yet, so far as there was any right in the case, it was entirely on the side of the Republicans. And I noticed that even the Fillmore men, who certainly have no more occasion to boast than the Buchanan men, so far as the history of their candidate is concerned, spoke out like men and put the Republicans to blush. I do not seek to reproach the Republican party, but such is the fact, so far as my observation goes.

But the Southerner and the slaveholder is decidedly the boldest of all. There was a Kentucky slaveholder on the cars with me on my way to Philadelphia who, in an encounter with a Republican, was more outspoken and manly than either the Buchanan or Fillmore men of the North. It struck me that their boldness was in exact proportion to the badness of their cause. The Kentuckian was the boldest, the Northern Democrat next; then came the Fillmore man, and lastly the Republican, who, in every instance that I observed, was a very modest, low-spoken man! I took no part in the conversation, because I have found of late that I am utterly unable to carry on conversation amid the rumbling of railroad cars. But I could not help thinking that perhaps the Garrisonian Abolitionist, ninety-nine times in a hundred, would be the lowest-spoken of them all. And yet what are all the political movements compared with ours? Who ought to walk boldly onward in his course if not the Abolitionist? Americans are proud of the name of Washington; I think the time will come when the name of Washington will be forgotten, but not the name of Garrison. The name of Moses may perhaps be forgotten, but who believes the name of Jesus will be forgotten? And what Moses was to Jesus, that Washington was to Garrison—only the forerunner of the more excellent way. When the time shall come that the principles of the Declaration of Independence shall be fully appreciated and applied to all, then the names of Garrison and his coadjutors will be appreciated with the names of Washington and Jefferson. Jefferson wrote well, but he did not understand what he wrote. Washington fought well, but he knew not for what he was fighting. Jefferson lived and died the owner of slaves; when Washington sheathed the sword, he took down the slave-whip and wielded it to the end of his life. Half a century afterwards, Garrison comes before the world, seizes the doctrines which Jefferson wrote and for which Washington fought, and makes an application of them of which those men had no conception; and when the time shall come that the doctrines of Garrison shall be as acceptable to the country and the world as is the name of Washington or of Jefferson now, then will the day of his glorification have come, and with it the day of the emancipation of a race of men.

I was glad to hear our venerable friend Grew sound so boldly and well the key-note of our cause. The time has come when we should distinguish between the mere regard for the liberty of the white man and the love of liberty for the whole race. I look with very little sympathy on that kind of Phariseeism which views with holy horror slavery in California and can tamper with and support slavery in Carolina; that bears such holy indignation against slavery in Kansas, and enters into compromise and confederation with slaveholders in Arkansas; that pities Charles Sumner, stricken down by the bludgeon of Bully Brooks, and can enter into a compact to help beat out the brains of Brooks's slave when he offers to resist his white master. We have trifled quite too much on the subject of emancipation; we have all of us become blinded, stupified, intoxicated by the spirit of compromise and by the overwhelming tide of political and religious corruption which has swept over the land for the last half century. Slavery is no worse in Kansas than in Carolina; it is no worse to return a slave that escapes than to stand body-guard for the slaveholder to help him retain his slave that has not escaped. The question was constantly put to the Republicans that I travelled with, "How is it that you can declare that the Republican party has no intention to interfere with slavery where it exists, if it be such a great evil as you regard it?" It seems to me the position of the Republican party is precisely like that of Russia to Hungary. Kossuth was successful in every battle so long as he had none but Austria to contend with; but when the Russian hordes poured in upon him, he was vanquished. How is the Republican party in this country different, as regards the slaves, from the Russians as regards the Hungarians? It was not Austria but Russia that Hungary feared. We have a strange way in this country of

> "Compounding for sins we are inclin'd to,
> By damning those we have no mind to";

and until we have learned a new philosophy, and have espoused an entirely new mode of action, we shall not be able or prepared to do battle against the Slave Power that now rules this nation. We are all of us accustomed to move in masses, are more or less influenced by majorities, thinking that unless there be organized resistance to wrong there is no resistance at all. We are inclined to wait until the leaders move before we act. It seems to me we ought each one of us to espouse as individuals the anti-slavery enterprise, and not rely upon organization or upon the leadership of great men. We have the idea that in every generation there can be but few representative men, but we never dream that we may be those great and influential men. We have no idea that there can be many influential women in any particular generation, and yet what is so much a relative term as this greatness of which we hear so much? The reason why we have so many great men and women among us is because the masses are so very small. When Gulliver went among men six inches high, he was a very great man, only because they were so small!

We boast of our institutions of learning; I do not think so much of them. What have they done? They have educated your Daniel Websters and Rufus Choates to be the dupes and tools of Southern tyrants. They are not the representative men of this time; and I am sure the representative women are not indebted to any of these institutions. We are all of us influenced by the men who come out of our Colleges, but do we not see that they are not the men for this generation, to meet the exigencies of this age? We must have another race of men, or we are all doomed to slavery.

The popular religion of this country makes many converts—though not so many now, I believe, as it used to—but what comes of all this gathering into the Church? Many years ago it was shown by one of the great lights of the Church that it was the bulwark of slavery. Just so long as we are accustomed to rely upon organizations of this kind, just so long will we fail of success, because we cast off individual effort and action thereby.

The Republican party is a most fearful instance of this reliance upon masses. I would by no means add to its grief in this day of its discomfiture and calamity; I would rather sympathize with it. It has inculcated the doctrine that half a loaf is better than no bread. Now, I do not agree to that; half a loaf is not better than none, if you have to rob a starving family to obtain it, or if it be poisoned. The half loaf that the Republicans seek is taken as the price of the enslavement of three and a half millions of human beings, and it is poisoned and corrupted by compromise with the Slave Power. I do not believe in such anti-slavery. The Republican leaders tell us we must take what we can get—that we must take the people as they are. Now, so far as my observation goes, I think it is the reverse—that the people have to take the leaders as they are (laughter). The people, in my estimation, are ready for higher and more efficient action. I heard Gov. Chase say he exhausted the power of the Government to save Margaret Garner. I think if Gov. Chase and his Government had been out of the way, the people would not have exhausted their power to no purpose in rescuing her. I think the Government of Ohio was the rock on which were wrecked all the hopes of that slave mother and her children. On one hand stood that Government, and on the other slavery and death; she appealed to the Government in vain, and then she heroically gave her child to the pale messenger and bade him carry her little one back to the bosom of its Maker. Now, I say that the humanity of the people of Ohio would have laid Cincinnati in ashes before that mother could have been carried back into slavery, if that humanity had been untrammelled by government and party.

Christiana did not exhaust her power in vain. Passmore Williamson did not exhaust his power in vain. But if Christiana and Passmore Williamson had waited for the government to act, the victims in both cases would have gone, as Margaret Garner went, back to slavery.

This Society ought to consider that its work is precisely what it would be if there were no such thing as a political party and no such thing as a church in the land. Whether the Republican party succeeds or fails, our work is the same. That party does not propose to knock the fetters off a single slave. Was there ever another political party that took so much pains to prove itself not sectional and to avow its fidelity to the slave system where it already exists? The Democratic party, to be sure, is not called upon for any such avowal; its depravity in that respect is acknowledged on all hands. Calvinism cannot prove its favourite dogma of total depravity in any other way so effectually as by reference to the character of that party. The Republican party is charged with being a sectional party, and there has not yet been time enough for that party to exhaust itself of its denials of the charge. Night and day, Sunday and all days, in the press, the pulpit and the forum, from Bennett's *Herald* to *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, from Francis Blair to Henry Ward Beecher, the grand burden of the song has been a perpetual denial of the charge of sectionality. Is it not true that from the time the Republican platform was constructed, the principal cry has been a disavowal of sectionalism and the avowal of a determination to exercise the governmental power, in case of the success of that party, to the universal approval of every honest, high-minded slaveholder? I see no reason, therefore, on the whole, why we may not rejoice in the prospect of the success of the Democratic party. It will doubtless cause a great many noble and brave anti-slavery men, whose indignation will be aroused and augmented by defeat, henceforth to speak the language of Garrisonians.

Edmund Quincy, in one of his letters to THE STANDARD, wrote a piece of satire, saying he was in hopes it would not have got out so soon that the Garrisonians were going for Buchanan; but since the fact was known, it was proper to avow our programme, which was, that the two editors of THE STANDARD were to divide the Custom-House and Post-Office of New York between them. What did the Republican press do but copy the paragraph and scatter it over the land to prove that, in good faith, we were all going for Buchanan, and that one of the editors of THE STANDARD had declared it! If such is a part of the Republican stock in trade, I do not know but we may as well rejoice in its discomfiture, especially as it will bring out the real anti-slavery men with more intensified hatred of slavery. Why, if we are to believe all the disavowals of that party, it would seem as if, instead of putting anti-slavery men in the Cabinet, Bully Brooks should have his choice of a place there, and slaveholders should come North and take possession of our Custom-Houses.

A great deal is said about the sacredness of the American Union. It is nothing but diabolism. There is nothing under the sun that has less sacredness than the American Union. The Republicans talk about the rights of the slaveholder; the slaveholder, as such, has no rights—not even to own rope enough to hang himself. He is to be treated as a culprit and felon, and the Union should be treated as a bargain made with thieves and robbers, to be immediately broken. This and nothing short of it is the work of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

LUCRETIA MOTT—I have listened with deep interest to the remarks that have been made by our friend Pillsbury, and also to those of our friend Grew. And when our friend Grew was referring to Mr. Beecher as exhibiting the iron manacle at the Tabernacle, I could not help thinking of the inconsistency of saying that he would not lift his little finger to break the manacles on the limbs of the South Carolina slave. I was glad to hear the last speaker advert to the timidity of Republicans and Abolitionists in the presence of Democrats and slaveholders. I was glad to hear him institute the comparison of Washington with Garrison. Still, as I always love to look on the brightest side of all questions, and take the most hopeful view, I could not help sympathizing with the poor Republican that the speaker alluded to, who scarcely dared to face the slaveholder and the Democrat. "On the side of the oppressor there is power," and "where iniquity abounds the love of many waxes cold." We have need to pity sometimes rather than blame. And even our blessed example, Jesus, while in the midst of a people ready to crucify him, had frequent occasion to tell his disciples, "Go, tell no man." And we do not find that he rebuked Nicodemus, who came to him by night. Let us then pity rather than blame these weak ones, and welcome them on the anti-slavery side as far as they go. Whilst Henry Ward Beecher speaks out against oppression, I know that many who hear him will go a great deal further, and will not be content with affirming the compromises of the Constitution. And while the Republican speakers laud the Constitution and the Union, it is nevertheless true that their audiences applaud loudest their most ultra anti-slavery sentiments, which will have their effect, whether the party succeeds or not.

Our friend Pillsbury thinks the Colleges of this country have not sent forth the representative men of this age. I acknowledge that they have not as yet done much, but we must remember that there are Colleges now springing up where the education is of a different character from that we have been accustomed to see. There are Oberlin and McGrawville Colleges, where not only the rights of coloured men are regarded, but where those of woman are acknowledged. And so far as our other Colleges are concerned, I believe our friend Pillsbury himself has derived some advantage from their training.

And so of the various religious organizations; they have done much to cramp the intellect and the soul; nevertheless, their training has, I think, been useful, even if no more than to compel such men as Mr. Pillsbury to come out of them.

It is highly important that we should be faithful and adhere to our elevated principles, but let us not view everything as discouraging that does not come up to our level, but rather hope to bring it forward. I think our friend might have strengthened that poor Republican in the cars and done a great deal of good if he had only been able to speak a brave word.

The Society adjourned till 10 o'clock on Friday.

[An evening meeting (the Society not being in session) was addressed by Aaron M. Powell, Parker Pillsbury and Mary Grew. Miss Grew's address will appear next week.]

SECOND DAY—MORNING SESSION.

The Treasurer of the Society, SARAH PUGH, submitted the following Report:

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY *in account with* SARAH PUGH, *Treasurer, for the Year ending Oct. 1st, 1856.*

	Dr.	
To Agents and Lecturers		$2,071 43
American Anti Slavery Soc'y for N. A. S. Standard		3,000 00
Printing		254 56
Books		537 07
Rent of Office		77 00
Sundries		821 00
Balance in Treasury		11 00
		$6,772 06
	Cr.	
By Balance from last year		25 46
Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society		1,800 00
Individual Subscriptions		2,039 21
Tickets to Course of Lectures		504 25
Publishing Agent		1,439 00
Sales of Books		514 00
Loan from J. M. McKim		450 00
		$6,772 00

The Business Committee submitted the following additional resolutions for consideration:

4. Resolved, That we see overwhelming proof of this, in the aggressions which the Slave Power has steadily made upon Freedom, viz., in demanding and securing for itself nearly the whole of our acquired territory; in treacherously violating the Missouri Compromise, and opening our whole north-western territory to slavery; in demanding that slaveholders shall be permitted to carry their slaves into the free States, when and where they will, holding them there in defiance of the laws of those States; in persecuting, to the extent of its power, every man who dares to speak or act against its authority; and, lastly, in the ruthless war which it is waging against the freemen of the Territory of Kansas.

5. Resolved, That in so far as the Republican party is a protest against the aggressions of the Slave Power, and is steadily resisting them in one direction, we rejoice in its existence; but inasmuch as it acknowledges allegiance to the Constitution of the United States, which requires the rendition of the fugitive slave, and pledges the strength of Northern freemen against the insurgent slave, we, as true Abolitionists, cannot stand upon its platform, and are bound to rebuke its compromises with oppression.

6. Resolved, That, as Pennsylvanians, we renew our protest against the insult offered to the dignity of our Commonwealth, in the unlawful imprisonment of Passmore Williamson by Judge Kane; and that we regard it as the duty of every Pennsylvanian to demand, of the Senate of the United States, the impeachment of the said Kane, that he may be removed from the judicial seat which he has so deeply disgraced.

7. Resolved, That while we rejoice in the improved spirit and tone of many of our leading journals, we deeply deplore the unmanly subserviency to the Slave Power, and the intense hatred to the principles of true freedom, manifested by a large portion of our political and religious press, without distinction of sect or party.

8. Resolved, That we regard the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD as a journal eminently deserving the confidence and patronage of the public, for its faithful advocacy of the highest anti-slavery doctrines, and the literary ability with which it is edited; and that we urge upon the Abolitionists of Pennsylvania the importance of extending its circulation as widely as possible.

9. Resolved, That we recommend to Abolitionists, generally, to maintain their consistency, by endeavouring to abstain from the purchase and use of the products of the slaves' unrequited labour.

10. Resolved, That, from our past experience, and from the present signs of the times, we derive new courage and hope for the future, and that we go forth to the labours of another year, confident of the complete and final triumph of Truth over Falsehood, of Good over Evil, of Right over Wrong.

MR. MCKIM, after speaking a few words upon the subject of the resolutions, made some general remarks upon the present aspects of the anti-slavery cause. He believed, notwithstanding the result of the recent elections, which would neither disappoint nor cheer any true anti-slavery man, that the prospect never was more cheering. There was only one thing that would save Pennsylvania from the iron heel of the Slave Power, and that was an entire renovation of public sentiment. Political action was only a manifestation of progress, as it indicated the state of public sentiment. All laws passed in advance of public sentiment were worth nothing, because they could not be enforced, and what appeared to be gained beyond what the public sentiment called for would only react upon the community. The great object and duty of this Society then was to renovate that public sentiment by such means as they had in their power.

MR. PILLSBURY thought there was little need of discussing the principles of the Society, for, so far as regarded the intellect, most of the members were doubtless nearly right. What was needed was to arouse and deepen the emotions of the heart. He did not quite agree with the sentiments in the letter of Mr. Garrison. It was doubtless true that in their field operations there was less opportunity to work effectively than at other times, but in his opinion a more important period never arises than a Presidential election for enforcing the distinctive features of the anti-slavery movement, by arousing the consciences of the community to a sense of the wrong, the curse, the crime of slavery.

Four years ago, when Mr. Hale was in the political field, the Abolitionists were not considered in any danger, so far as departing from the rectitude of their principles was concerned. Now, almost every one of the issues four years ago was laid aside, and Fremont occupied almost exactly the position then occupied by Gen. Scott. Therefore, there never was a time when Abolitionists were required to unfurl their banner to the breeze more than now.

Mr. P. then went on to show that in 1843 John Quincy Adams, Joshua R. Giddings and eighteen other Whig members of Congress, issued a manifesto declaring that the annexation of Texas ought not to be submitted to by the North, and would be, and ought to be, identical with a dissolution of the Union; and that even one of the noisiest Democratic organs at the North declared that the annexation of Texas would be fraught with consequences to the North "black as ink and bitter as hell." And now, after all the outrages and aggressions of the Slave Power, how far short of raising any such issue with it did the Republican party come. How important, then, was it that the little band of Abolitionists should go steadily onward in a movement which would be remembered when the straits of Thermopylæ should be forgotten.

JOHN JONES, of Chester Co., rose to correct the impression sought to be made by Mr. Pillsbury, that the Republican party had not joined issue with the slaveholders. The slaveholders were opposed to Mr. Fremont and the non-extension of slavery as equivalent to abolishing slavery. Besides, he believed that the Republican party was creating an agitation out of which great good would grow, whereas the non-voting Abolitionists, he thought, were comparatively powerless and inefficient, because the people did not feel the force of their cause.

SAMUEL AARON, of Norristown, sympathized deeply with the trying testimonies and painful sufferings of the worthy members of this Society, though he could not entirely agree with all their sentiments. He thought Mr. Pillsbury did not give the Republican party the full credit they deserved. The freedom of the white man in Kansas was by no means all the Republican party sought. Mr. A. then proceeded to quote from the Republican platform the principles therein set forth, viz., the maintenance of the principles of the Declaration of Independence; the prohibition of the extension of slavery anywhere; the denial of the authority of Congress to give legal existence to slavery in any of the Territories; the prohibition of Polygamy; the condemnation of the Ostend Manifesto; the freedom of the public lands.

MR. DAVIS took exception to the statement made by Mr. Pillsbury, that the anti-slavery sentiment had made apparently little or no advance, and to the desponding tone of his remarks. For his part he believed the anti-slavery sentiment was more extensive than it was several years ago. Did Mr. P. think that the labours of the Abolitionists had all been for naught? In the Report of the Executive Committee quite another view was taken, and it was believed that they had accomplished much. In proof of this, Mr. D. mentioned the fact that many anti-slavery speeches had been made during the last six months by persons entirely disconnected from this Society, who were apparently as honest and sincere as the Abolitionists were. He would allude to one in particular, by Henry Bennett, member of Congress from New York, in which he showed not only the abuses of the Slave Power under the Constitution, but that the Constitution itself was inherently pro-slavery, and that the political power of slavery was of such a character that it was almost impossible to overcome it. He (Mr. D.) was glad to give circulation to such a document. Then there was the speech of Mr. Colfax and the speech of Mr. Sumner, both of which he was happy to help circulate as anti-slavery documents. He could not find it in his heart to condemn a party that did not come up to his own standard, while it took a stand against the Slave Power. He could not but sympathize with those now struggling in very much the position that many of this Society occupied a few years ago.

Mr. D., in conclusion, urged the importance of establishing Auxiliary Societies and Debating Clubs to discuss the subject of slavery. This subject had been discussed in a Club in his neighbourhood once a week all last Fall, Winter and Spring, with the exception of three evenings.

Adjourned till 2 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.—LEWIS GAUSE, of Norristown, took the platform in defence of the Republican movement. He believed a man might vote under the Constitution without violating his conscience; and if it could be done, it was certainly a great desideratum. The efforts of the non-voting Abolitionists were very much as if a woman should spend a great deal of time in preparing a rich repast without intending it should be eaten. They tell us that all this political agitation comes of the moral agitation. Well, suppose the moral agitation should never come to the climax, what result would be achieved? All this talk of the elevated position of this Society sounded to him very much like self-laudation. He believed in moral agitation, but only as preparatory to more efficient political agitation. And believing the Constitution to be at least not a pro-slavery instrument, he saw no obstacle to his voting under it.

Here he might stop, but he would go still further and say that the right to vote was not derived from the Constitution, but was inherent in all men; it was recognised in the Declaration of Independence, when it said that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. He did not care whether the framers of the Constitution intended it to be anti-slavery or pro slavery, and for the sake of the argument he would allow that they intended in some respects to recognise slavery, though such he believed was not the fact. What then? Did their intention bind him any more than the non-voting Abolitionist? It was only binding upon him so far as he consented to it. It was a great mistake to treat the Constitution as a deed or will; it was not binding because our fathers made it; this intention was not binding upon the succeeding generation. If he chose to make that instrument his own, then he would carry it out as he saw fit and interpret it as he understood it.

It was a monstrous doctrine that we were to be bound by the decision of a pro-slavery Court in regard to the interpretation of that instrument. He believed almost any sensible man would allow that, by the plainest rules of common sense and English grammar, the Constitution must be interpreted in favour of liberty. If so, what a great advantage did it give in affording an opportunity for political as well as moral action.

He contended that instead of the non-voters standing on a higher plane, they stood on a lower plane than those who advocated political action. It was said that the Republicans presented but a single issue and that the people were prepared for a broader platform. How came it then that the people had heretofore voted down the single issue of the non-extension of slavery? On the other hand, how far had the people received the so-called broad platform of this Society?

The speaker continued the argument at some length, contending that the Republican party made no compromise with slavery; and though there were those in the party who did, they were not the true exponents of Republican principles. For his own part, he would lay down his life before he would support the Fugitive Slave bill. He never meant to give up his right to agitate the slavery question; and if the Union were dissolved, what opportunity would be afforded in this country for agitating it? Just the same as was afforded in regard to slavery in Cuba or Brazil.

MR. PILLSBURY, in reply to the charge of Mr. Davis that he had presented too dark a picture, said that he intended to present things as they were. But, though in the pursuit of the right they were sometimes led through even the valley of the shadow of death, they ought to fear no evil—to them the darkness and the light should be both alike. They ought to be strong when others despair, and to hope on and hope ever, believing that in the end the right must prevail.

MR. DAVIS wished to say Amen to those sentiments, and hoped Mr. Pillsbury would always draw as beautiful pictures as that. Mr. D., being interrogated as to whether he was not a Fremont man, said that he should not vote in the coming election. Even if he knew that his vote would elect Fremont, he would not cast it.

THOMAS WHITSON said he thought the speech of the editor of the *Olive Branch* (Mr. Gause) had pretty effectually exploded the Constitution; and if the Republican party all acted on that ground, there was much to hope from them. It was a practical nullification of the Constitution, and if Mr. Gause would print his speech in his paper and send him fifty copies, he would pay for and circulate them.

AARON M. POWELL urged the importance of Abolitionists' standing erect and uncontaminated by the political elements in the present excitement. He stated that, in his anti-slavery labours in the Western Reserve (Ohio), he found no class of men more afraid of the Abolitionists than the so called anti-slavery politicians and religionists. There was a sort of cringing timidity among them for fear of losing influence that seemed to him contemptible. The Abolitionists were few in number, and he was glad that they had this ordeal to pass through; the coming election would test their quality.

OLIVER JOHNSON remarked that the anti-slavery cause never looked to him so hopeful as at this hour, and he was to-day more than ever, if possible, a disunionist; he believed slavery would never be abolished until this vital issue was made. He thought the Republican movement was worth a great deal to the anti-slavery cause in educating the people and preparing their minds for the reception of higher anti-slavery principles. He believed if the Republicans had taken one-quarter of the money they had expended in keeping up party machinery, and used it for the legitimate purpose of moral agitation of the slavery question, the country would have been so far converted to anti-slavery principles that their work would have been done and they might have elected their President on a great deal better platform than that upon which they stood to-day.

JONATHAN CABLE, of Ohio, avowed himself an Abolitionist, though not of the Garrisonian school, and related some very amusing altercations he had had with some slaveholders on board a steamboat on the Ohio river, in which his adversaries attempted to wield the Bible and the Constitution in defence of slavery, but he turned both these weapons against them most effectually, to their great discomfiture.

The Committee on Nominations reported the following list of Officers for the ensuing year, who were duly elected:

President—JAMES MOTT.

Vice-Presidents—Robert Purvis, Thomas Whitson.

Corresponding Secretary—J. Miller McKim.

Recording Secretary—Reuben Tomlinson.

Treasurer—Sarah Pugh.

Additional Members of the Executive Committee—Lucretia Mott, Benjamin C. Bacon, Mary Grew, Margaret J. Burleigh, Edward M. Davis, Abby Kimber, Jacob Pierce, Clinton Gillingham.

MRS. MOTT made an appeal in favour of cooperation among the members of the Society, and hoped they would not be discouraged in the present excitement of the Republican movement.

JAMES HENRY was thoroughly convinced that the Republican movement would fail to accomplish the object sought by Abolitionists, and that nothing short of the issue of disunion would be successful.

MARY GREW made a very effective farewell speech. She said that the members of this Society stood before this Union simply as representatives of the slave, pleading for those who cannot plead for themselves. They made no compromise and would take no ground short of immediate and unconditional emancipation. For twenty-five years they had made that issue, and would persistently make it until it was granted or their lips were sealed in death. The issue of the non-extension of slavery, or free Kansas, or the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, would not satisfy them or turn them off for one moment from the great end, though they rejoiced to see all those issues made. They would leave it to others to hew and hack at the branches, while they persisted in striking at the root of the tree. They rejoiced in the existence of a party that would strike a blow against slavery, while they rebuked it for its shortcomings.

They were asked what were the plans of the Abolitionists. The answer was a simple one; their plan was the preaching of the truth, the conversion of the heart, the arousing of the conscience. Their work was ever the same—the steady utterance of the truth on all occasions and at all times. They would exhort all men who would have their hands clean of the blood of the slave to see to it that they uphold not slavery by word or deed, but exercise their strongest influence against it, and the strongest of all influence was moral influence.

It has been said that the South fears votes more than words. The South fears everything that tends to weaken its power; it fears every bold word manfully uttered for freedom. We do not vote, because we believe the Constitution requires the rendition of the fugitive slave. The American Anti-Slavery Society has proclaimed for years its principles on this subject, and yet well-informed people ask us to-day why Garrison does not vote! We do not mean to perjure ourselves by swearing to support the Constitution, and, therefore, we cannot go to the polls. We seek to promote our cause only by perfectly righteous measures.

We meet, my friends, to stir up each others' minds by way of remembrance—to remind one another once more of the slave's claim upon us. Again we picture the mother torn from her child, the wife from her husband, and all those sunderings of social ties, the contemplation of which makes our blood run cold. And now we are to go forth to the labours of another year. We know not what is before us; no prophet can tell what awaits our country in the year to come. But we do know what is our duty, and it is of little consequence that we cannot see exactly where the path of duty may lead us or what troubles may await us. It is not needful to the Christian reformer, as he goes forth in the path of life, that he should see the difficulties that lie in his path; it is well for him that he does not, for who of us is so strong that he would not be bowed down in view of what might be foreseen and ask to be relieved by the angel of death? No, God, in mercy, hides the future from our view. He sets only the lamp of truth in our path a little way before us, and leads us on, step by step, revealing to us no more than we are able to bear. We go forth to preach the gospel of freedom, to speak for truth and right, to be faithful to the cause of the slave, to bear well and bravely the name of Abolitionists. That, my friends and coadjutors, is a glorious mission; it is a work more serious and solemn—aye, and more important—than many of us have sometimes accounted it.

> "It is a name of light and power,
> A watchword of the free;
> Who scorns it in the trial hour,
> A craven soul is he."

Ashamed of it! Is any man or woman ashamed of it What is it to be an Abolitionist? It is to be vowed unto the service of humanity; to put one's soul in the place of the slave's soul and to pledge one's self to be his faithful advocate unto death. It is ever to rebuke the wrong and advocate the right; it is to strive for God against Satan, for right against wrong, for freedom against despotism; it is to speak the truth when it costs us something; to be instant in season and out of season, by every right and proper means urging the slave's claim to his freedom, speaking without fear or faltering, looking only to the reward of a clear conscience, and satisfied with having done right.

My friends, there is but one way to picture to yourselves the slave's wrongs as they truly are, and that is to sit down in your lonely chamber and imagine yourself a slave under the bloody slave code. The story of the trembling fugitive, as he comes from the land of chains into your midst, afraid to stretch out his hand for help lest he should find an enemy—not even this can fill your soul with a realizing sense of what slavery is. You must sit down and realize what it is to be a slave on the rice or the cotton field; to be sold on the auction block; to see your own father, mother, child, wife, husband torn from you; to hear the last shriek of agony as they are borne from your arms. Oh, it is too much for language to express. Angels can only weep over such iniquity, such outrage, such wrong. And since we last met, all these sufferings have been going on and the number of victims increasing. Heaven yet looks down on a guilty land, and men in free Pennsylvania go about their daily business, and sit down at their firesides, surrounded by their happy families, and scarcely think of all this wretchedness.

We go forth to the labours of another year hopefully, with all this dark, terrible cloud hanging over us, with all these thoughts of agony that sometimes fill our spirits far beyond utterance, with all the opposition that surrounds us in the Church and in the State, with all the apathy of a half-awakened people. We may meet with sorer contests than we have heretofore encountered, but none of these things move us, for we know that our labour can never be in vain. Thus trusting, we go forth; and though the people may rage and the rulers take counsel against our cause and against Him who hath called us to this work—though they may say God seeth it not and regardeth not the sorrow of the outcast slave—though they may exert their power over a handful of Abolitionists who wield no political power—though they may exult in their strength, we know there is One whose power is greater than theirs. We go calmly, confidently, joyfully on, knowing that we shall prevail. Verily, he that hath clean hands shall wax stronger and stronger, and the righteous shall hold on his way, whatever obstacle may be in his path; his victory is sure and certain.

The question was then taken on the resolusions, all of which were adopted unanimously except the 9th, against which there were several negative votes given, after a brief discussion.

The Society then adjourned, *sine die*.

FROM KANSAS.—The telegraph brings us information that a company of 250 Free State emigrants, who had plodded their weary way through the wilds of Iowa and Nebraska, were lately arrested near the Kansas line by a company of United States troops. Mr. Eldridge, the conductor of the emigrants, had procured permission of Gov. Geary to enter the Territory with the ordinary arms of emigrants, he being assured that the intentions of the party were peaceful. On arriving at Plymouth, Kansas, on the 10th instant, they found Deputy Marshal Preston, with seven hundred troops acting as a posse, and six pieces of artillery drawn up to oppose their further progress. The Marshal ordered them to halt, and informed the whole party that they were prisoners. All the boxes, trunks and baggage were searched, and resulted in the finding of some kegs of powder, a keg of cartridges belonging to the night-guard, ten Sharp's rifles, two dozen revolvers, and a number of common rifles, belonging to private individuals. The troops then took possession of all the horses, wagons, baggage, farming utensils, and a large quantity of provisions, and ordered the whole party under a guard, with instructions to the troops to shoot any who might attempt to escape. The emigrants were mostly from New York, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa. The troops acted, of course, under authority of Governor Geary!

A BUCHANAN VICTORY.—The character of our boasted Democracy is admirably illustrated in the following ruffian announcement:

From The Doylestown (Pa.) Democrat—Extra.

Have You Heard the News!

GREAT EARTHQUAKE IN BUCKS!

The Woolly Horse Foundered on the Rocky Mountains and the Niggers lost on the Prairies!

DEMOCRATIC BLOOD WORTH TEN CENTS A DROP!

Burlingame, Greeley, Wilmot, Reeder, Banks and Abby Kelley Floundering among the Niggers!

THE BORDER RUFFIANS ABOUT, AND THE DEMOCRATS AND OLD LINE WHIGS CARRYING THE FLAG AND KEEPING STEP TO THE MUSIC OF THE UNION.

The People of Poor "Bleeding Kansas" to Govern Themselves and Make Their Own Laws!

The Foul Slanders of the Abolition Intelligencer Rebuked by the People!

THE JACKSON DEMOCRACY BROKE LOOSE!

BUCKS GIVES ABOUT 1,000 MAJORITY!

PENNSYLVANIA.—The Buchanan Democracy carried this State by some 4,000 majority in the recent election. The Republicans declare that this result was secured in part by the treachery of the Fillmore leaders and partly by fraudulent votes. The Republicans and that portion of the Know-Nothings who desire to defeat Buchanan have agreed upon a common electoral ticket, with the understanding that if they carry the State, the electoral votes shall be divided between Fremont and Fillmore in proportion to the number of the two parties respectively. The Fillmore men whose first object is to defeat Fremont have a separate ticket. The Republicans yet hope to carry the State for Fremont.

INDIANA has elected the Ruffian Democratic State ticket by some 7,000 majority. The Congressional delegation is about equally divided between the Republicans and their opponents. The former still hope to carry the State for Fremont.

OHIO has elected the Republican State ticket by a large majority, but the Sham Democracy has gained in the Congressional delegation, which stands 12 Republicans to 8 Administration. Lewis D. Campbell's election is doubtful, and will be contested.

Special Notices.

☞ PROVIDENCE, R. I.—WENDELL PHILLIPS will speak at Providence on Sunday next, Oct. 26th, at the regular anti-slavery meeting, morning and evening.

☞ WORCESTER, MASS.—All payments on account of THE STANDARD, in Worcester, and all new subscriptions, may be made to Miss SARAH E. WALL, No. 2 Sycamore street.

☞ SALLIE HOLLEY WILL LECTURE ON SLAVERY in the following places and times specified:

Five Corners, Tuesday, Oct. 28th, 6½ p. m.
Northville, Thursday, Oct. 30th, 6½ p. m.
Lake Ridge, Sabbath, Nov. 2nd., 10½ a. m.
Drake's School House, Monday, Nov. 3d., 6½ p. m.
Lansingville, T

Miscellaneous Department.

BEATING AGAINST THE BARS.

I HAVE told in two sketches preceding this how, as a leader in the Baden revolution after the surrender of Rastadt, I became subject to the power of the Grand Duke and the Prince of Prussia; how I was imprisoned in the fortress, tried by court-martial, sentenced to be shot—but not shot, because in the court that sentenced me there was one dissentient judge. My sentence was changed to ten years in the house of correction; which seemed worse than death.

On the railway journey to my prison I had still some insults to suffer from young Prussian officers. At the station in Carlsruhe stood a great many gentlemen in white neckcloths, who probably came from a court dinner, and wished to enjoy the sight of a rebel in chains. "There are C. and his wife in that carriage," said one, and they all came and stared at me; but they saw no fetters. I sat among soldiers who behaved in a most friendly manner. There was nothing more melodramatic than the grief of my poor wife, holding my hand as she had done all the way. It was almost dusk when we arrived at Bruchsal. With a heavy heart I took leave of my true wife, and was conducted in the midst of soldiers through the town. The corporal of the escort did not know the locality; and the inhabitants, having more sympathy with conquered than with conqueror, took little pains to show where the house of correction was. After much erring to and fro we left the town by another gate, and reached a gloomy castellated building. We stopped at an iron grating in the wall.

"More than ten years?" asked the warder.

"No."

"You are wrong then," and he directed the way to the old house of correction. That was the first glimpse of my dungeon—the model prison on the separate and solitary system—in which six years of my period of durance were spent.

I had a fellow-sufferer on that first night in an artillery-man of Rastadt, who was taken with me into the guard-room of the old house, where two old people in light gray uniforms—jailers on duty—received us, and led us to the presence of the governor. That officer gave a receipt for us to the corporal, and sent us for the night to the reception-room. My blood tingled when my whole person was handled and searched. But a peace-offering came in the shape of a supper of broth, which seemed to be composed of bad grease and potatoes, very much praised by the jailers.

Not having been undressed for a long time, and having slept only on damp straw, I received the coarse but cleanly bed in the reception-room as a great luxury. At about nine o'clock next morning I was taken to the governor, a worthy man, who was unable to hide his resentment at the cruelty of the Prussians, in inflicting upon a gentleman the punishment of thieves. He prepared me for the ceremony of the prison toilette. On his representation, he said, Major M. and Captain S., who were his prisoners, received back their own clothes; but the Prussians, having heard of it, instantly remonstrated, and he was daily expecting orders to put them again into convicts' uniform. Carried off to the watch-room by a thickset jailer—who had a harsh manner, but was not an unkindly man—my beard was swept off by the razor, my hair was cropped by a prisoner, who danced about me like an imp while he was snipping and shearing; then, when he had made my head look like a shoe-brush, he leapt away. I was ordered to undress and put on the convict's uniform, which lay upon a bench ready to my hand. There was a pair of stockings coming high over the knee, and made of thick hemp-twine, hard as a grater; there was an ascetic shirt, large enough to be taken for a carter's frock, made of the coarsest hemp linen, that felt upon the skin as if there had been woven into it a bundle of toothpicks. This garment being quite new, and never having touched water, was so stiff and hard, that after an hour's wearing, it had scoured the skin of my whole body, till I seemed to wear a shirt of Nessus. The trousers were of the coarsest kind of hemp trellis, and the jacket of the same material. I thrust my arm in it too fast, and scraped a piece of the skin from my knuckles. The waistcoat and neckcloth were of like material, dyed with a bad blue. After I had put on a little hempen cap I thought the business concluded. But there lay on the form something else that was to belong to me. It looked like a sheet of gray pasteboard, but a red line running through it satisfied me that it was a tissue. I took it in my hand and unfolded it with difficulty. It was so stiff that it retained every form into which it was bent. I could not make out what this was, and asked its use; the jailer, who had been amused at my perplexity, informed me that it was my pocket-handkerchief. The prisoners, I found, put these handkerchiefs in water, and then beat them with stones until it becomes possible to use them. There were next given to me a pair of very rough peasant shoes, a little wooden tablet with my number painted upon it, a small horn comb and a towel.

I was then taken into the wool saloon, which was to be my future scene of labour. Thirty prisoners were at work, picking and spinning the wool, which filled the room—otherwise spacious and reasonably cheerful—with a fetid odour. The stillness, only disturbed by the peculiar rattling of the large wool spinning-wheels; the repulsive faces of many of my new comrades; the whole house-of-correction atmosphere, made, quivering yet under the impression of the toilette, a very strong impression upon my mind. Everything whirled before my eyes.

By-and-by I recovered, and could look about. They had not, on that first day, given me any work. One of the convicts attracted me, with noble features and a high, beautiful forehead. It was Dr. K., of Heidelberg, spinning wool with the earnest mien of an old Roman senator. His neighbour to the right looked like a student; but he was an incendiary.

Near a spinning-wheel at the opposite side there stood a young man like a Theseus, with long-lashed eyes, and a mouth delicate as that of a girl; it was a young student of medicine from Mayence. He had been only three days in Baden, and, being ill while there, had never seen a fight, or carried arms. Intending to return to Mayence, he passed Heidelberg, and there he was arrested by a clever gendarme, who sagaciously concluded that the perfectly new cap he wore must have replaced quite recently the hat of a rebel. Young R. had indeed belonged to a patriotic corps which was formed in his native town, but had dispersed before it reached Baden. He was sentenced to imprisonment for ten years, like myself. After two years of punishment, he obtained pardon. His parents and relations, being well off, spared no money, and applied it in the right direction.

In the afternoon, we were permitted to walk for half an hour in the yard. During this time I became acquainted by sight with many of my fellow-patriots. Thousands of them still languished in the casemates; where they were perishing by hundreds, neglected and forlorn. The government of Baden showed so little concern in coming to a speedy end with the examinations, that only three judges were appointed to this business in Rastadt; where no less than five thousand six hundred accused men were held in durance.

At seven o'clock we had our supper. It consisted of a pint chopin of soup made of water, very mouldy black bread, and less than half an ounce of a detestable fat, called smear; generally used for the greasing of carriage-wheels. This horrible soup was not seldom given thrice a day—for breakfast, dinner and supper. After supper, we proceeded directly to the bedroom; in which there might have been some forty beds. After the jailer had said prayers for us all, he locked the door and went away. He could always look into the room by a wicket, where lights were burning all night.

I had managed to have my bed at the side of Dr. K., with nobody on the other side. K. had a mind to talk; but this was impossible to me. During all the day I had forcibly held back the tears; now I hid my head under the blanket, and wept like a child.

At half-past four in the morning we were awakened by the ringing of a bell. Everybody rose, and made his bed and his toilette. The latter was a curious proceeding; for it was a toilette without glasses, basins, tooth-brushes, or even soap. The washing apparatus for these forty people consisted simply in one tub of water and an empty tub, together with a small tin drinking-cup. Since, for the whole business, to forty persons, only a few minutes were allowed, our ablutions were always very incomplete.

After a prayer spoken by a jailer, the workroom was opened, and we began our labour by the help of dim oil-lights. I was ordered to attend a large spinning-wheel, and received a quantity of wool to convert into thread. One of the work-masters showed me how to proceed, and I began my task. When my wheel got entangled, my neighbour to the right came and put it in order, without speaking a word. This was a young Italian, who, in animated dispute, had thrust his knife into the body of a Baden subject. I could see how excitable he was. His blood was always in extraordinary motion, and when he came to help me he blushed like a girl.

My neighbour to the left was a venerable old poacher, who sometimes offered me stealthy pinches from his little bark snuff-box; and I could not find it in my heart to refuse this little kindness. The director had taken care to place me betwixt the two most honest knaves of his collection. Generally, the common criminal felt that the political offenders did not belong to their set. They forbore to show any intimacy; although all wore the same dress, and did the same work. If any one of us spoke to them, they were pleased, and showed their acknowledgments by many little services.

Before the breakfast, half loaves of very coarse black bread were brought in baskets, and, when the jailer called a name, each of us went forth to fetch one. In the first days, I was always struck by my name as by a dagger-thrust. The bread was very bad, for it was mixed with common field-bean meal; but it was not safe to complain too loudly; a few common criminals who had done so having been punished. None being permitted to have knives, every one that desired to cut a bit of bread (one pound and a half was the daily allowance) had to go to one of the pillars, against which a blunt knife hung by a short chain.

The dinner at twelve o'clock consisted of a chopin of soup and a chopin of potatoes; lentils, peas or another vegetable; meat was given only twice a week, four ounces at a time.

On the Saturday came a jailer, and asked which of us desired to write a letter. I was of that number, for I had promised to my wife to write to her as soon as possible. On Sunday we rose at half-past five o'clock, and had no work to do. We attended divine service in a long saloon, arranged like a church. In the afternoon, such of us as would write letters went to the guard-room. There, accordingly, I sat, mixed with the refuse of human society, to write to my dear wife; whose name I would have thought sullied if spoken before them.

There was in Bruchsal a railway officer who had absconded with six thousand florins. After having spent the money he came back. He had his own clothes and his own room in the prison with many comforts, and was occupied with keeping the books of the management. A fraudulent watchmaker or jeweller worked on his own account in his own room; and such examples were by no means rare ones. This could not be through fraud or negligence in the director; for the prisons were visited every month by the members of the ministry. If criminals of this kind have a claim to milder treatment, how much greater claim had we, who became for the most part criminals from motives which should be the strength and not the weakness of a State? But after a time we obtained, through the representations that we made, much relaxation of the prison discipline. Yet, scarcely had we learnt to appreciate the bettering of our condition, when there happened to me a new trouble.

On Sunday, the thirtieth of September, a tavern-keeper of Bruchsal, involved in the revolution, was delivered in to our establishment. He was popular in Bruchsal, and in the afternoon about a hundred young fellows assembled in the town, and boasted they would free the prisoners. It was mere hectoring; but the Prussians and their obedient servants in Carlsruhe seized on this pretext to aggravate the punishment of certain of their enemies. Consequently, in the afternoon of the second of October five of us were called to the director, who received us with much agitation. He told us that he had received orders to send us immediately to the new model prison—the terrible cellular penitentiary.

A detachment of Nassau soldiers transported us in our slave-gear through the whole town, where many a pitying girl's eye met ours as we passed. The jailers had told us many times of the new prison to which we were going; and with other things, that the prisoners there were obliged to wear visors.

We arrived; we entered. We were brought into a preparatory cell; where we studied with dismay the regulations of the house. Then we were separated, and I was led into a cell towards the north; where I was to live for years, away from other men, always alone. I lost even my human name, and became number two hundred and seventy-eight, enclosed within four bare walls, in a space four yards by six, under a ceiling like a coffin-lid. My little iron bed was chained against the wall. In one corner there was a little open cupboard with a pitcher, a table, a board, both fixed on the wall—and that was all. Of the whole prison it is enough to say that it is a costly massive structure contrived on the principle of that at Pentonville. It had not long been finished—indeed was not wholly finished—when I entered it. But of my pale yellow cell there are some things that I must narrate:

The floor in the Bruchsal cells is covered with little square tiles, so soft that the prisoners sweep from them every morning more than a pint of the finest brick-dust, which penetrates everywhere, and of course gets into the lungs. To make this worse, the shoes of the prisoners are thick-set with large nails. Of late these shoes have been abolished, and a few of the floors have been painted with linseed oil; but this costs for every cell about two shillings, and the Baden government is not easily induced to expend so much on the mere health of prisoners.

Beneath the ceiling in one of the longer walls, a square hole is placed, through which comes in the hot air in the winter: corresponding to it is another such hole on the opposite side, but near the floor, intended to take bad air out. The theory of this heating and airing may be very good; but the practice proves very deficient. The openings work very often more after their own mind than after that of the inventor, one filling the cell with cold air, and the other spouting smoke.

The heating with hot air, the penetrating brick-dust, the bad water, and the draught always felt in the cell so strongly that the hair of the prisoner is moved by the wind even in bed, are the greatest calamities incident to prison life at Bruchsal from architectural reasons. It is a fact, that every plant dies in one of these cells after a short time, even in Summer, and that a bird rarely will outlive a Winter. Hot air is excellent for large halls in which people assemble now and then for a few hours; but it is murderous in such small closets. I will not dwell upon the decomposition of the air by this manner of heating, but only speak of the dryness produced by it. Everything in the cell is dried to the utmost. The window-frames—which are of wood instead of cast-iron—are so much shrunk, that they let the draughts in freely, and with doors it is the same. A cloth saturated with water dries in a few minutes; and it is evident, that this dry air must operate in a like manner on the body of the prisoners. I leave it to physicians to tell what must be the consequence of exposure to this dry heat when combined as a state of suffering with bad and insufficient food. Hot air fills only half the cell; the breast and head of the prisoner are swimming in it, whilst the other half of the man moves in a cold current. The water comes from the hills at the foot of which the prison is situated, and is led to every story by a conduit which is very much admired, but which has only the fault of being always out of order. In Winter the pipes are frozen for months, and in Summer the water is dried up, or the pipes are subject to repair. On many a hot Summer's day we had no water at all. Moreover, the water itself is bad; a few drops of vitriol put into a pint of it will produce a thick precipitate of plaster. If I dared to drink only a mouthful of it during the night, it always produced cholic and diarrhœa.

The dress of the prisoners is the same as that of the old house of correction, with the exception of the head-dress. This consists here of a skull-cap of blue woollen cloth, to which is attached a very large visor, which covers the whole face, and in which are cut two holes to see through. This horrible cap must be worn always when the prisoner is not locked in his cell. When in the yard, the prisoners must be always fifteen paces distant from each other; and, if two of them meet by chance, this regulation causes a great embarrassment. The greatest crime in this prison is that two prisoners should speak to one another, or endeavour to communicate by any other means.

In every wing were employed five or six turnkeys, called at Bruchsal overseers. That one under whose care the directors very considerately placed me was the best and most courteous in the house. It was indeed a comfort to me to be under the orders of this man; who behaved with the utmost delicacy. He was an old soldier, and blushed all over when he was compelled by his duty to show me how to use the spinning-wheel placed in my cell.

I have not space for an account of the routine of model prison life. The meat of the model dinner was allowed only upon alternate days, and the allowance then was two ounces of boiled beef! For breakfast, dinner, and supper together, government at that time paid to the managers daily a penny three-farthings; from which, provision was to be made not only for all the prisoners consumed, but also for servants' wages. Nevertheless, the woman who then was manager made money by the contract.

When I had been only two days in the house I was brought by the head overseer into his room, where I found my wife, my mother, and my only sister. The latter had come from the Prussian frontier. I had not seen her for twenty-seven years, and she had become a grandmother in that time. My mother I saw then for the last time. The expression of my poor wife's face in looking at me rent my heart. She had not seen me yet in my base dress, disfigured by the scissors and the razor. We thought this meeting a very sad one, and my situation as bad as possible: but in a few years later what would we not have given even for such a meeting? Only one visit in the month is permitted to the prisoner. It must be in the presence of an overseer and only of half-an-hour's duration.

When my wife was in Bruchsal she spoke to the director, and he proposed to the Council of Control several favours to be allowed to me; and, in consequence of this, I was permitted to wear woollen drawers; to shave myself; to have in my cell portraits and other not offensive pictures; to have flowers, even in pots, and to paint in oil; after having done half a day's work for the administration. The leave to paint in oil and to have flowers was of an immense value to me, and I became so cheerful with my occupation that my overseer was quite astonished.

When the director of all the prisons in Baden made me a visit, I asked leave of him to have my own lamps, instead of the smoking kitchen lamps then used, which I detested. But even he dared not to grant such an immense boon on his own responsibility, and was obliged to bring this important concern before the ministry; by whom it was allowed.

But all this was to be changed very soon for the worse. When Captain S—— fled from the old house of correction by help of his sister, who visited him, and who was, as was said, supported by the bribed head-overseer, all correspondence with our families and friends was prohibited, and their visits also were disallowed until the completion of the model parlour. Most of the favours granted to political prisoners by the Council of Control were annulled, and a reproof given to them into the bargain. They prohibited especially my painting in oil, because it was said to be against the seriousness of the place; but they permitted me to paint in water-colours. I never understood why water-colour painting was judged to be more serious than work in oil.

The Prussians, especially the officers, behaved as if they had conquered Baden. Their insolent and despotic manners were not liked at all, even by the Baden officers who had remained faithful to the old government. These had been living for many years under a constitution, and were shocked by Prussian tyranny. Besides, North German sharpness very seldom agrees with South German bonhommie.

Prisoners who never see for years a green tree or field are very excusable if they try to find means to get a stealthy peep out of their windows. So doing is forbidden, and if detected is punished. The Prussian sentries would have done well to report against such trespassers; but they had received orders to fire at them. Almost every day shots were heard in the court-yard, and many of the prisoners had narrow escapes. Of course the political convicts were very much shocked by such severity, and the better part among the officers of the house were shocked also. Complaints were without purpose; on the contrary, the soldiers were praised by their officers, and it was only regretted that not one of these democrats was hit. Sometimes I saw the sentries hid behind some wood watching in the window with their muskets ready, as if they were sportsmen stalking deer. Once I heard the report of a musket very near me, a cry, and then the tramping of many people, who seemed to be carrying a heavy burden. I afterwards was told it was a poor prisoner employed to whitewash a cell. He was just about to replace the window, standing upon a step, when he was spied by a sentry and shot through the breast. The poor fellow had yet strength enough to descend the steps, and to set aside the window which he held in both his hands. Then he fell down, and died a few days afterwards. This atrocity was inexcusable, inasmuch as the sentry had been warned not to fire at prisoners who worked as masons in the cells.

This was not all our trouble. The sentries running up and down the courtyard, near and under the windows of the cells, used to call to one another in the night. Becoming aware that this calling vexed the prisoners, who were awakened by it, the sentries amused themselves by shouting all night, and as loudly as they could, to the greatest vexation of us all. One night they did so in such a manner that the house was roused. They roared like madmen, animated to do so by a lieutenant who had just been visiting the guards. Several of the prisoners clambered to the windows, and one of the sentries shot at them without effect. At the same time I heard one of the prisoners angrily exclaim against the man who fired.

On the day following when all the highest officers of the prison had left for their dinner, and only the newly made head-overseers were present, there appeared in the establishment the Prussian military officer in command, accompanied by several officers, corporals and a patrol with loaded muskets; two corporals had sticks in their hands. Major Von E. demanded, from the head overseer, the delivery of the inmates of three cells he pointed out, and whom he accused of having, on the previous night, insulted the sentries. The head overseer was perplexed, and did as the major ordered. By the noise in the courtyard the prisoners were attracted to the windows, in spite of the danger. The major, seeing this, invited them to come all to their windows, and see what he was about to do.

Three of the prisoners were then brought into the courtyard and barbarously caned in presence of the major and his suite. When the major after this heroic deed passed beneath my cell, I heard a laugh and my name: probably one of the officers regretted that I had not been one of the receivers of a drubbing. The director resented this infraction of his authority, and complained of it to his ministry in the most energetic manner. The result was that he was suddenly dismissed on the next excuse that could be met with.

That head overseer, who delivered the prisoners to the major, was a living memento of the tact of the Badish ministry. He had been a Badish lieutenant in the year eighteen hundred and forty-eight, and was, in eighteen hundred and forty-nine, chosen captain. As such he participated in the revolution, and was present at most of the fights. Moreover he had good connections; and, when he was examined, he said he had been forced by the soldiers to stay with his regiment. He was not only acquitted, but was placed as head overseer in a house of correction, where he was the superior of comrades and soldiers, with whom he had shared in the same crime. This man was neither a spy nor a bad man; I did not grudge him his good berth, but it was base to place him in it.

When my first overseer received promotion I was removed to another cell, where I had many overseers at hand, who did all they could for money, and who would have done more with a little courage. Through one of them I received a letter from a young girl of Bruchsal, Kate Z. the daughter of a butcher there, who offered me her services. I did not know her; but she gave herself much trouble to serve the political prisoners. Several of the overseers boarded at her father's house, and she knew how to persuade them.

Without the supply of food which I received through this channel, I do not know how I could have lived through the first half year. Of the prison diet my stomach tolerated almost nothing but the soup, bad as it was, and I was always as hungry as a wolf. Once on the way to the yard, one of the overseers found an opportunity to give me a nice piece of boiled ham, wrapped in paper. I put it into the breast pocket of my jacket to eat when I returned into my cell; but this piece of ham burned more upon my heart than almost anything I ever had upon it. My mouth began to water like that of a well-behaved dog, who is kept long expectant of a morsel. At last canine appetite overcame every sense of shame or even caution; I hid myself as well as I could, and bit into the ham with an eagerness that would have done honour to any beast.

By the care of my friend Kate, who was provided with money by my devoted wife, I was at this time very well served. I received every morning coffee or chocolate quite hot in a flat brandy bottle, and held warm in the breast of the overseer, who ran with it from the town to the prison as fast as he could. Sometimes I had wine, meat, and even cigars and newspapers. By one of these people, whom I paid very well, of course, I received every morning a written report of everything that occurred in the house, and what he had heard of other political prisoners. By this means I gained a knowledge of all circumstances, and of the construction of the house itself, which was necessary to effect my flight; for which all preparations were completed by the spring of the year eighteen hundred and fifty-one.

By chance I saw in the room of the head overseer a plan of the prison, and this helped me very much to plan my project. The more I brooded over it, the more its practicability became obvious; till, at last, I came to the resolution not to go alone, but to free all the political prisoners in spite of all the Prussians. The plan was bold, but the easier for its boldness, and was by no means impracticable. Mischances frustrated it at last, and therefore I need not narrate it in detail.

After the flight of Captain S—— all intercourse with my wife was forbidden for a time; but, after the finishing of the model parlour, I consulted the director, and wrote to her to come and see me. She may tell herself the adventures of this little journey. I will give an extract of her diary:

"February 26th. I rose too late to go by the first train, as I intended to see my Mannheim friends; but to this delay I owe the accompaniment of Fritzchen (Friederica, a friend of ours) and her little Helena. The journey seemed to me very long; I could think of nothing else but how I would find you, my dear husband; the saddest imaginations pursuing me. When I arrived in the hotel at Bruchsal it was yet day, and I dared not to go for Kate. At last it grew dark; and, putting on an old hood I ventured into the street. I had the good luck to find Kate.

"Feb. 27th. I rose early and went out to buy flowers for you before going to the prison; for those I had brought with me were two days old and faded. I also wished to buy an ivy in a pot, that you might have something fresh and living in your solitary cell. It was half-past eight when I was about to leave my room with Fritzchen and the child, when two policemen came and asked for my passport. I told them that I had neither passport nor other papers, my husband being a prisoner and having been plundered by the Prussians and others of his property and papers. The policemen went away to the commandant of Bruchsal, but came very soon back, bringing with them a written order, by which I was not permitted to leave my room before four o'clock in the afternoon, being a prisoner till further orders. No reason was mentioned. Upon this I was induced to go myself to the captain. The policemen would not suffer me to leave the room and hotel; they even held Fritzchen (who first overstepped the threshold) by her arm and gown; but she abused them so, that they became uncertain, and lost the courage to retain by force such a beautiful and angry woman. Moreover, they followed us close. The commandant was very polite, excused himself for fulfilling the duty of his office; but abided by the execution of the order. It was only with much trouble I persuaded him to go and see Director D——, and to consult with him, whether it would be too dangerous to permit me an interview with my unfortunate husband. Very soon he came into the hotel and told me that I could go to the prison, but only accompanied by the policemen.

"I went directly, but I inquired in vain for flowers. The nearer the moment came to see you, the more sorrowful I became, and my heart throbbed more vehemently. Moreover, the thought that I must not increase your sorrow by showing mine, but on the contrary try to inspire you with courage, gave me strength. Sometimes I scarcely could believe that you were indeed in a House of Correction; it seemed to me like an old dream.

"When we reached the prison and entered the room of the porter, I asked for the director, to ask why he had expressly forbidden my friend Fritzchen to see my husband. I think it was because he believed Fritzchen's husband to have written a paper against solitary imprisonment; but he was not to be seen. Close to the room of the porter is the parlour, and connected with it by two doors. That through which the overseer (whose duty it is to be present at an interview) enters has glass windows; the other door led to another compartment of the room, which is limited by a barrier and a network of wire. A third compartment, likewise limited by a barrier and railing, is to be entered from the inside of the prison by a massive iron door. Being in the porter's room, I saw my husband in this compartment, through the windows of the door. When the overseer entered his compartment, situated between the two others, I followed him closely to give to my husband my hand; but without pity I was pushed back and ushered through the other door into that part of the parlour destined for the visitor.

"O, this parlour is one of the most cruel inventions! I am not able to express in words the torture of the mind endured in these few minutes. During only half-an-hour the wives, parents, or children of a prisoner are permitted to see him. Every fond word is restrained by the presence of a jailer, whose face is showing his impatience as he counts time by the strokes of the clock and not by those of the heart. O, this was a painful, frightful parting—heart-rending to see my poor Otto, thy pale face, thy mournful eyes, and thy compressed colourless lips! It was a moment in which to become mad with grief. What horrible thoughts thronged at once to the mind. To see a loved being descend again living into his grave? Will he ever come back—and if he comes, how will he be? Perhaps, with a sickly body: probably a disturbed mind—a broken man.

"At about four o'clock the commandant came to my hotel, and told me I could depart as soon as I wished; but that, till then, I was to keep my room, guarded by a policeman, and that I must suffer myself to be accompanied as far as the frontier of Baden by a gendarme. I would depart, I said, next morning, and wrote a letter to you, which I requested Fritzchen to convey to Kate; but, when she moved to leave the room, she found herself a prisoner like me. I sent the letter by the waiter, and had the good fortune to receive your answer the same evening."

The two ladies were indeed accompanied by a gendarme, after the manner usual when any vagabond is brought by "schul" (shore) over the frontier; a wanton insult against a woman which might easily have been avoided. My wife was forbidden to go to Baden without leave from the Prince of Prussia or the General von Schreckenstein.

My preparations for escape were ripening. I had keys and many necessary implements. Apparently, nothing remained wanting but the removal of some bars from an unguarded cellar window. A female friend of mine passing through Frankfort, had told my wife—who then lived in that town—that she would venture to saw through, during the night, the iron bars which separated me from liberty; that she would surely do it for me when she came back from a certain necessary journey. My wife, thinking she could do as much as any other woman, determined at once to undertake this perilous adventure herself; but she did not break her intention to any one; knowing very well that her parents and friends would have restrained her from an undertaking which they would have called sheer madness. In truth the undertaking was an extremely dangerous one; for she would meet with death or worse, if detected by the Prussians. But whenever did a true wife reflect on danger, when a husband could be saved? My wife forgot not only danger, but many necessary things also; and, when she left Frankfort, her plan was but traced in confused outlines.

Not being permitted to enter the duchy of Baden in her own character, she set off at four o'clock, in the afternoon, riding in the third class, in mean clothes. In the carriage she met a poor Jewish pedlar woman, who lived near the Baden frontier, and was on her journey home. My wife proposed to buy her basket with everything in it, and also a black frontlet to disguise her better; for she desired, as she said, to make a jest with some of her friends. The poor woman was very glad to get rid of her basket and the worsted, on my wife's promising to replace them, if possible, to which end she noted the Jew woman's address.

With this frontlet and basket, my wife could act the part of a Jewess—none the worse for being the daughter of an Italian, and having upon her face the rich tints of the glowing south.

Arrived at a certain station, my wife stepped out, and met, in a village not far from Bruchsal, a young man recommended by Kate as an enthusiastic and trustworthy admirer of the political prisoners. He was eagerly willing to be serviceable; but recommended saying nothing of the flight to Kate, who was a chatterbox; although a very good girl. He knew some people who had a room to spare; and, after having bespoken everything necessary, my wife went away to try whether she could get this room. For a silk neckerchief and a few ribbons she succeeded.

Then she prepared for action, and set right her watch-spring saws, and the black wax which was to conceal the cuts made in the bar. The old people of the house went very soon to bed, and slept soundly when my wife's young helpmate gave the appointed signal. She left her room stealthily, and also the cottage, and met the young man. It was past ten, and the night dark and rainy—just such a night as was best adapted for the execution of her purpose. About eleven o'clock the prison was reached, and my deliverers could hear the regular steps of the sentries on the wall. The houses now standing before the entrance of the prison were then only partly built, and not inhabited at all. Protected by the darkness of the night, my wife advanced along a ditch at the foot of the external wall, till she came to the gate, at the sides of which were to be seen the important cellar air-holes. Her companion remained behind; for she would not involve him any farther in an enterprise which might make him unhappy for life.

She began sawing, but this was no easy work. It was not to be done by her with those little flexible saws, especially in the darkness, and agitated as she was. She cut more deeply into her own fingers than into the iron bar; and, at last, left off working, and met her companion; not quite dissatisfied, for she had seen how negligently the house was guarded, and that it really was possible to succeed with better implements.

When she returned to Frankfort, she spoke to the locksmith who had made the keys for me, and told him what she had been about. He laughed much, and gave her instructions how to proceed better with a certain old saw, which he boasted could cut iron like wood. Therefore, my wife spoilt all the bars in the cellar air-holes in her father's house, to try whether she could cut them without noise, and how much time she would want for the purpose.

Whilst my brave wife thus was employed, I, to my great vexation, was removed to another wing of the prison. I succeeded in carrying away with me keys, saws, and other things; but was very much puzzled when I saw that in my new cell the old hiding place was wanting. It cost some little ingenuity to find another. Afterwards, my cell and clothes were suddenly changed. Taken by surprise, I lost both tools, keys and money, and the hope of escape with them.

Furthermore, my friend Kate and her whole family had been arrested; for, during a house-visitation, several letters from prisoners had been found which that foolish girl had kept, notwithstanding my often-repeated request to her to burn every bit of paper that came out of prison. Vanity—or some kindlier thought—induced her to keep scraps from each of us; probably to show that she was a friend to men, who were then very popular. The poor girl was very much cast down; for her imprudence had brought ruin upon their family. By law, there was not much to be done against them: but the government has made means of punishing poor trades-people. Kate's father was a butcher, and had to deliver meat to the soldiers; this charge was not only taken from him, but even the soldiers and other people connected with the government were forbidden, or, at least, induced, to keep away from his shop. Kate was confined for some time in prison. My wife caused the law-expenses to be paid, and gave help out of her own pocket; although I had nothing to do with the detection of Kate's dealings, and she came only into trouble by her imprudence. The poor thing did not recover from her fright, and died a few years afterwards; very soon followed by her father, who ended his days as a ruined man.

From this time I was determined to induce no person inside the prison, or outside, to endanger himself for my benefit. Others were not so conscientious, and the new director caused to be chased away, in about three years, no less than forty-six overseers, most of them only on suspicion.

Thus far I have told of the solitary prisoner—immured for love of freedom—beating for escape against his prison-bars. But there belong other and gentler features in his destiny; there are other ways—some simple and some strange—in which humanity asserts itself against all odds. Life in the cells has two different sides. I have here shown only one side. My narrative will be complete when I have shown also the other.

OLD FOGIES IN OLD TIMES.—It is a very curious fact that the same sort of complaints which have been made in England and the United States, within the past thirty years, respecting the introduction of railway communication, were also made when coaches were first introduced. In a pamphlet called the "Great Concern of England Explained," published in 1673, the writer very gravely attempts to make out that the introduction of coaches was ruining the trade of England. The following is an example of this method of reasoning. Before coaches were set up travellers rode on horseback, and men had boots, spurs, saddles, bridles, saddle-cloths, and good clothes, and good riding suits, coats and cloaks, stockings and hats, whereby the wood and leather of the kingdom were consumed. Most gentlemen, when they travelled on horseback, used to ride with swords, belts, pistols, holsters, portmanteaus and hatcases, for which, in these coaches, they have little or no occasion. For when they rode on horseback they rode in one suit and carried another to wear when they came to their journey's end; but in coaches they ride in a silk suit, silk stockings, beaver hats, &c., and carry no other with them. This is because they escape the wet and dirt, which, upon horseback, they cannot avoid; whereas, in two or three journeys on horseback, these clothes and hats were wont to be spoiled; which done, they were forced to have new very often, and that increased the consumption of manufactures.

ANECDOTE OF DR. FRANKLIN.—A pleasant anecdote is told of Dr. Franklin. The town of Franklin (Mass.) was named for him. While in France, a gentleman of Boston wrote to him of the fact; and added that as the town was building a meeting-house, perhaps he would give them a bell. Franklin wrote the characteristic reply, that he presumed the good people of F. *preferred sense to sound*, and therefore he would give them a town library. This he did—and the library is now in a very good condition, and has been of great service to the readers.

ENGLAND.

ALFIERI thought Italy and England the only countries worth living in; the former, because there nature vindicates her rights, and triumphs over the evils inflicted by the governments; the latter, because art conquers nature, and transforms a rude, ungenial land into a paradise of comfort and plenty. England is a garden. Under an ash-coloured sky, the fields have been combed and rolled till they appear to have been finished with a pencil instead of a plough. The solidity of the structures that compose the towns speaks the industry of ages. Nothing is left as it was made. Rivers, hills, valleys, the sea itself feel the hand of a master. The long habitation of a powerful and ingenious race has turned every rood of land to its best use, has found all the capabilities, the arable soil, the quarriable rock, the highways, the byways, the fords, the navigable waters; and the new arts of intercourse meet you everywhere; so that England is a huge phalanstery, where all that man wants is provided within the precinct. Cushioned and comforted in every manner, the traveller rides as on a canon-ball, high and low, over rivers and towns, through mountains, in tunnels of three or four miles, at near twice the speed of our trains; and reads quietly the *Times* newspaper, which, by its immense correspondence and reporting, seems to have machinized the rest of the world for his occasion.

The problem of the traveller landing at Liverpool is, Why England is England? What are the elements of that power which the English hold over other nations? If there be one test of national genius universally accepted, it is success; and if there be one successful country in the universe for the last millennium, that country is England.

A wise traveller will naturally choose to visit the best of actual nations; and an American has more reasons than another to draw him to Britain. In all this is done or begun by the Americans towards right thinking or practice, we are met by a civilization already settled and overpowering. The culture of the day, the thoughts and aims of men, are English thoughts and aims. A nation considerable for a thousand years since Egbert, it has, in the last centuries, obtained the ascendant, and stamped the knowledge, activity, and power of mankind with its impress. Those who resist it do not feel it or obey it less. The Russian in his snows is aiming to be English. The Turk and Chinese also are making awkward efforts to be English. The practical common-sense of modern society, the utilitarian direction which labour, laws, opinion, religion take, is the natural genius of the British mind. The influence of France is a constituent of modern civility, but not enough opposed to the English for the most wholesome effect. The American is only the continuation of the English genius into new conditions, more or less propitious.

See what books fill our libraries. Every book we read, every biography, play, romance, in whatever form, is still English history and manners. So that a sensible Englishman once said to me, "As long as you do not grant us copyright, we shall have the teaching of you."

But we have the same difficulty in making a social or moral estimate of England as the sheriff finds in drawing a jury to try some cause which has agitated the whole community, and on which everybody finds himself an interested party. Officers, jurors, judges have all taken sides. England has inoculated all nations with her civilization, intelligence and tastes; and, to resist the tyranny and prepossession of the British element, a serious man must aid himself, by comparing with it the civilizations of the farthest east and west, the old Greek, the Oriental, and, much more, the ideal standard, if only by means of the very impatience which English forms are sure to awaken in independent minds.

As soon as you enter England, which, with Wales, is no larger than the State of Georgia,* this little land stretches by an illusion to the dimensions of an empire. The innumerable details, the crowded succession of towns, cities, cathedrals, castles, and great and decorated estates, the number and power of the trades and guilds, the military strength and splendour, the multitudes of rich and of remarkable people, the servants and equipages—all these catching the eye, and never allowing it to pause, hide all boundaries, by the impression of magnificence and endless wealth.

I reply to all the urgencies that refer me to this and that object indispensably to be seen—Yes, to see England well needs a hundred years; for, what they told me was the merit of Sir John Sloane's Museum, in London—that it was well packed and well saved—is the merit of England; it is stuffed full, in all corners and crevices, with towns, towers, churches, villas, palaces, hospitals, and charity-houses. In the history of art, it is a long way from a cromlech to York minster; yet all the intermediate steps may still be traced in this all-preserving island.

The territory has a singular perfection. The climate is warmer by many degrees than it is entitled to be by latitude. Neither hot nor cold, there is no hour in the whole year when one cannot work. Here is no Winter, but such days as we have in Massachusetts in November, a temperature which makes no exhausting demand on human strength, but allows the attainment of the largest stature. Charles the Second said, "it invited men abroad more days in the year and more hours in the day than any other country." Then England has all the materials of a working country except wood. The constant rain—a rain with every tide, in some parts of the island—keeps its multitude of rivers full, and brings agricultural production up to the highest point. It has plenty of water, of stone, of potter's clay, of coal, of salt, and of iron. The land naturally abounds with game, immense heaths and downs are paved with quails, grouse, and woodcock, and the shores are animated by water birds. The rivers and the surrounding sea spawn with fish; there are salmon for the rich, and sprats and herrings for the poor. In the northern lochs, the herring are in innumerable shoals; at one season, the country people say, the lakes contain one part water and two parts fish.

The only drawback on this industrial convenience is the darkness of its sky. The night and day are too nearly of a colour. It strains the eyes to read and to write. Add the coal smoke. In the manufacturing towns, the fine soot or *blacks* darken the day, give white sheep the colour of black sheep, discolour the human saliva, contaminate the air, poison many plants, and corrode the monuments and buildings.

The London fog aggravates the distempers of the sky, and sometimes justifies the epigram on the climate by an English wit, "in a fine day, looking up a chimney; in a foul day, looking down one." A gentleman in Liverpool told me that he found he could do without a fire in his parlour about one day in the year. It is, however, pretended that the enormous consumption of coal in the island is also felt in modifying the general climate.

Factitious climate, factitious position. England resembles a ship in its shape, and, if it were one, its best admiral could not have worked it, or anchored it in a more judicious or effective position. Sir John Herschel said, "London was the centre of the terrene globe." The shopkeeping nation, to use a shop word, has a *good stand*. The old Venetians pleased themselves with the flattery, that Venice was in 45 deg., midway between the poles and the line; as if that were an imperial centrality. Long of old, the Greeks fancied Delphi the navel of the earth, in their favourite mode of fabling the earth to be an animal. The Jews believed Jerusalem to be the centre. I have seen a kratometric chart designed to show that the city of Philadelphia was in the same thermic belt, and, by inference, in the same belt of empire, as the cities of Athens, Rome, and London. It was drawn by a patriotic Philadelphian, and was examined with pleasure, under his showing, by the inhabitants of Chestnut street. But, when carried to Charleston, to New Orleans, and to Boston, it somehow failed to convince the ing